Race Relations - 1921

Meetings

Kentucky

SOLICIT FUNDS TO AID INTER-RACIAL PROGRAM

Louisville, Ky., Jan. 14.—Between $8,000 and $10,000 will be sought in a campaign throughout Kentucky for the purpose of forwarding the inter-racial work of the State Young Men's Christian association, according to a decision reached by the members of the Inter-Racial committee of the organization in conference at the Branch Library, 10th and Chestnut Streets. About 40 attended the conference, which adjourned Saturday after a two-day session. It was announced that scholarships had been awarded to 150 world war veterans in this state.

'Y' INTER-RACIAL SESSION IS HELD

LOUISVILLE KY COURIER JAN NOVEMBER 26, 1921

Christianity Is Called Means to Overcome Prejudice Against Color.

QUIN AMONG SPEAKERS

Christianity, as a means of overcoming a large percentage of the feeling of race prejudice, formed the basis of addresses yesterday afternoon and last night at sessions of the second annual Kentucky State Inter-racial Conference held in the Criminal Court room of the Jefferson County Court House.

The conference, held under auspices of the State Young Men's Christian Association, is presided over by Philo C. Dix, secretary of the State association, who gave a brief summary of the work. Following this address Mayor Huston Quin delivered an address of welcome.

Mayor Quin asserted that while there was a great amount of misunderstanding between the races they shared commonly in two things—God and government.

Quin Hopes for Understanding.

He axpressed the hope that "thorough understanding would be the outcome of the conference."

The suggestion was made that "true religion" is essential to wiping out racial prejudices. This idea was elaborated on by the Very Rev. R. L. McCready, dean of Christ Church Cathedral; P. H. Callahan, Louisville; the Rev. James Bond, negro, Louisville; the Rev. C. H. Parrish, negro, Louisville, and J. W. Bell, negro, Hopkinsville.

"The question is not one of race relationship," Dr. W. W. Alexander, Atlanta, declared at the night session, "but one of personal relationship, based on the prerequisite that the races understand one another."

Concrete situations alone, such as insanitary living conditions or a negro school house in need of repair are to be dealt with, the speaker said.

"Since the Civil War there has been a growing separation between the white and negro races and each city or community group must settle its own problem," he said.

Much of the race friction and race trouble, Dr. Alexander said, is economic. Bad living conditions among negroes are attributed almost entirely to their low wage earning capacity, and to no other causes, he said.

Among the speakers for the session at 9:30 o'clock this morning are Dr. A. R. Burton, Washington, United States Public Health Service; Dr. L. S. McMurtry, Louisville, president of the Kentucky State Board of Health, and Prof. R. H. Deavell of Peabody College, Nashville, Tenn.

KENTUCKY CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

Survey 12/31/21

A radical departure in the policy of the Kentucky Conference of Social Work was taken at the fourteenth annual session of the conference held in Lexington in October by the appointment of a legislative committee. This committee will give support to recommendations on resolutions and will also do such lobbying at the capitol as is necessary. The committee on resolutions has endorsed an enlarged budget for the state Board of Charities, the amendment of the state housing law to extend its provisions to cities of the second, third and fourth classes, the findings of the Educational Survey Commission and the Kentucky Children's Code Commission and larger appropriations for the University of Kentucky and the state normal schools.

Public institutions of the state and the question of child welfare probably received greatest emphasis during the meetings. Owen R. Lovejoy and Professor John Smith of Berea College forcefully presented the problem of the Kentucky child. Both speakers were qualified to speak with authority, the former because of a very thorough state-wide survey recently conducted by the National Child Labor Committee, and the latter because of his intimate knowledge of the mountain folk of the state as well as his membership on the Children's Code Commission which will present to the next legislature a constructive program involving recodification of the laws of the state respecting children.

Of particular significance was the meeting on race relations which for the first time in Lexington brought together both white and colored for the study and discussion of their common problems. As one Lexington woman said to the writer, "Possibly you do not know what an unprecedented occurrence it is to have a mixed meeting of this sort in our largest hotel," and another woman expressed surprise at the well delivered speeches and forceful arguments presented by the colored delegates present. The chief discussion at this meeting was the work of the inter-racial committees that are operating throughout the state.

The recreation committee considered a subject which hitherto has not been given much attention in Kentucky; namely the question of developing leadership in the high schools and institutions of higher learning in the state. It was decided to continue this study over the year, as it was the sense of the meeting that if the leisure time of the rural and mountain districts was to be enriched, leadership must come from the educational institutions.

A number of students attended from the universities of Kentucky and Transylvania, both of which are located in Lexington. Dr. Arthur T. McCormack, secretary of the state Board of Health, was elected president for 1922, succeeding Frank L. McVey, president of the State University. Louisville was chosen as the place of meeting for the next conference.

R. A. HOYER.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Race Relations
Meetings

North Carolina

INTER-RACIAL COMM. ORGANIZED IN N. C.

New York Age 7/9/21

(Special to THE NEW YORK AGE)

Laurinburg, N. C.—There has recently been organized in the state of North Carolina an Inter-Racial Committee for the purpose of improving the relations between the races in this state.

This committee has at its head some of the leading citizens of the state, including Gov. Cameron Morrisan, hnory chairman; Dr. W. L. Poteat, active chairman; N. C. Newhold; ex-Governor and Mrs. T. W. Bickett; Mrs. T. W. Lingle, and many other strong and influential leaders.

A religious cooperati v committee has also been appointed, which includes, among others, Bishop T. C. Darst of Wilmington, W. A. Harper and Dr. W. A. Campbell. A Negro State committee will be appointed later by Prof. Newhold.

This goes to show what North Carolina is doing for the protection of its Negro citizens and their religion and social betterment. There is no state in the South, with the exception of Virginia, where as good or better relations between the races exists than in North Carolina. It has been said that the so-called race problem is more nearly solved in this state than any other state in the Union and all because the white people of this section have apparently learned the lesson that in proportion as the Negro is improved the entire south will be improved, and with the removal of misunderstanding and hatred between the races, a decrease and ultimately an abolition of lynchings and race riots so prevalent throughout the country will inevitably follow.

This committee is at present active in ing over the entire state. Counties where it has already been established, it is said, have shown marked improvement. It is to be hoped that this movement will spread over the whole south and carry with it a favorable charge in conditions which speaks for peace and good will among men.

Norfolk Journal & Guide 9/24/21

Educators and Other Citizens Representing Both Races Held Important Meeting To Reach Understanding Between the Races

MUCH GOOD IS OUTCOME

By T. L. McCoy

Raleigh, N. C.—There took place in Shaw University chapel last Thursday and lasting through Friday an unusual assembly of colored and white educators from every part of this State. Every type and profession was represented. Among those present being lawyers, doctors, presidents of colleges, teachers, heads of secret societies, such as Masons, Knights of Pythias, Odd Fellows, women of the Eastern Star, Household of Ruth, Federation of Women's Clubs and other organizations. This conference was at the invitation of Prof. N. C. Newbold, State Director of Negro Education.

Prof. Newbold is giving us great encouragement by his marked interest in Negro education. In opening the meeting Prof. Newbold said that at the request of State Superintendent E. C. Brooks he had invited Negro leaders from all parts of the State to join the State authorities (the governor included) in promoting a campaign of good will and encouragement among the people of the State, and at the same time to inform them of what is being done to better their educational facilities, provide better school houses and equipment and pay teachers better salaries. He then read letters from the school authorities in a number of the cities and towns stating what amount of money had been appropriated for the building of suitable school houses for Negro chlidren

Ashville, $100,000; Bryson City, $2,000; Carthage, $12,000; Durham, $150,000; Elizabeth City, $75,000; Fayetteville, $50,000; Goldsboro $150,000; Greensboro, $250,000; Greenville, $35,000; Hamlet, $6,000; High Point, $37,000; Kinston, $50,000; Lenoir, $10,000; Lincolnton, $25,000; Madison, $10,000; Marion, $12,000; Maxton, $12,000; Marhead City, $10,000; Morganton, $12,000; New Bern, $25,000; Old Fort, $850.00; Reidsville $50,000; Roan Rapid, $25,000; Rocky Mount, $35,000; Sadler $3,000; Smithfield, $50,000; Southport, $10,000; Wadesboro, $15,000; Wilmington $50,000; Winston-Salem, $100,000. Added to these amounts, our State Legislature has appropriated from 1917 to 1921, $935,000. If to this is added the increased appropriation for teachers' salaries and building, the sum total is $3,960,850.

Prof. Newbold then spoke of the many things that were said in the heat of the last campaign for governor that were not encouraging to the Negro citizens, and for which Gov. Morrison bore the stigma, but that he was sure the governor was not as bitter towards the Negro as pictured, for if he were, no such large amounts of money appropriated for education would have received his approval. He said that the white people had decided to give the colored citizens a fair deal, and that they wanted the Negroes to have high schools and colleges with "A" rating, but at present there were not enough Negro teachers qualified to man these institutions. Following Prof. Newbold's brief outline of North Carolina's program for Negro education many prominent educators addressed the conference.

After the speaking Prof. Newbold requested any member of the conference to ask questions on any subject discussed, whereupon Prof. J. H. Johnson, of Salisbury, asked why the money collected for school purposes is not equally divided per capita among the white and colored children of school age. This question confused Prof. Newbold to the extent that he replied, "It is not," but gave no explanation. Prof. Johnson said, "Because of this fact Negro children are unable to compare favorably in school progress, hence, they are charged with being inferior to white children. After the white speakers had many times pronounced the word Negro "nigger," it was very gratifying to the large audience when one white man, evidently a Northerner, pronounced the word correctly. The writer immediately arose and thanked the speaker for his correct pronunciation. Hearty applause followed and the term "nigger" was heard no more.

Dr. W. L. Poteat, president of Wake Forest College, delivered a most pleasing address on the subject, "The State Inter-Racial Committee." State Superintendent E. C. Brooks favored the conference with a delightful as well as instructive address. He assured his audience that the white people are sincerely interested in the education of the colored people, and that every effort would be made to qualify Negro teachers so that their certificates would be equal to that of the white teachers. All who heard Supt. Brooks' address went away feeling well repaid for the time spent in this conference.

An impromptu meeting of the members of this conference was held and the following named persons were selected to constitute "The Inter-Racial Committee," to confer with a like number of white citizens. The chairman, Dr. A. M. Moore, of Durham, called a meeting to take place in this city September 30th.

State Interracial Committee, colored section: Dr. A. M. Moore, chairman, Durham; Dr. S. G. Atkin, Winston-Salem; Dr. J. H Shepard, Durham; Rev A. J. Wilson, Wilmington; Prof. D. C. Suggs, Greensboro; Mrs. C. H. Brown, Sedalia; Mrs. H. L. McCrary, Charlotte; Prof. L. E. Graves, Raleigh; Dr. A. M. Rivera, Greensboro; Prof. G. A. Edwards, Kittrell; Dr. T. S. Inborden, Brick; Mrs. Florence Williams, Raleigh; Mr Berry O'Kelly, Method; R. McCant Andrews, Durham; Prof. W. G. Pearson, Durham; Rev. A. D. Avery, Raleigh; Dr. G. C Shaw, Oxford; Dr. C. S. Brown, Winton; Dr. J. H. Walker, Ashville; Prof. J. H. Johnson, Salisbury

Race Relations

Meetings

Pennsylvania

RACIAL AMITY AIM OF WORKERS HERE

Evng Ledger Phila.

Mrs. Edmund Stirling Says Feeling at Present Is Tensest in Sixty Years

Feb 4

FAULT NOT ONE OF COLOR

The inter-racial feeling has not been so tense in the United States for sixty years as it is now, nor has there been such need for inter-racial understanding.

Such is the belief of Mrs. Edmund Stirling, of 4517 Kingsessing avenue, and a group of white and Negro men and women thinkers who make up the Inter-racial Committee of Philadelphia.

The committee is an offspring of the anti-lynching committee which was formed at the yearly meeting of Friends at Fifteenth and Race streets in 1919. When its members took up the study of lynching in the United States they found that seventy out of eighty persons lynched were Negroes and they felt it necessary to make a thorough study of inter-racial relations.

"The situation throughout the country is exceedingly tense," said Mrs. Stirling. "The economic nerve of the South has been touched by the migration of Negroes from that section. The educated southern man sees this and is ready to meet the Negro halfway in order again to get his help in industry. In many places of the South, educational facilities have been greatly improved and welfare work of value has started among the Negroes.

"Our committee in Philadelphia is a nucleus for future confidence between the races here. There is need for the development of such confidence. There is a 'red' Negro party, a really dangerous anarchistic group. It is not the majority, but it forms a movement that should be held in check. Its members are defiant, revengeful. They complacently look forward to riots and trouble. It is this we wish to prevent.

Chance for Understanding

"We feel there is a splendid chance to reach an understanding between the races—to bring about working relations, and to make for the betterment of conditions for the Negro. Our committee is only two months old. At our last meeting we discussed segregation. Prominent and educated Negroes on the committee told us their people preferred living to themselves, having their own social life, their own churches, schools and meeting places. But in most districts where Negroes are expected to live, housing conditions are so bad that no decent Negroes want to live there. How can there be uplift; how can you expect them to be clean and decent when you give them filthy places to dwell?

"There are fifteen colored schools in Philadelphia, where there are hundreds of Negro children. Negro population here has increased almost four times as much as the white population, according to reports from Washington, for the last ten years. This is due, statisticians believe, to the fact that Philadelphia needed Negro workers as laborers more during the last few years than ever before. Many of the Negro residents are home owners—here to stay, and they fill an important place in our industrial life. With the halt of foreign immigration the need for Negro labor has increased.

"Illiteracy is decreasing in the Negro race by jumps. Last year there were 152 Negro graduates from our higher colleges. When Negroes were emancipated 98 percent were illiterate. In 1910 this percentage had decreased to 30. I do not know more recent figures, but undoubtedly these last few years have meant even greater progress. Virtually all the educated colored folk return to help educate their own people. They want to raise the standards for their race. They do not want to intermarry with the white race.

Color Not Chief Objection

"So many are apt to judge the whole Negro race by its servant and criminal class. That is as unfair as judging our own people by the lower classes. If you came in contact with Negro artists, poets, talented men and women graduates of Harvard or other higher colleges, I believe color would not make so much difference.

"The inter-racial committee of Philadelphia is not organized with the idea of radically changing conditions here. It is to develop confidence and understanding among its Negro and white members first. We hope these feelings will later spread from our members to others and gradually include all the thinking people of both races. We meet to discuss freely difficult points of race contact. Segregation, education, welfare work, industrial relations, social relations—all these are subjects of intense importance.

"Something of today's situation is summed up by Daniel A. Brooks, of this city. He says Negroes of Pennsylvania are united in the beliefs that the migration of thousands of rural Negroes into this state may inspire hostile and prejudicial sentiment which, if unchecked, may develop into reactionary, hasty ill-judged action; that Pennsylvania is reaping only a small fraction of the benefit that could be derived from the advent of these thousands if opportunities for industrial and agricultural education, adjustment and placement were provided for those above compulsory school age, in a form available to and assimiable by persons unschooled but with practical experience; that successful administering of educational advantages to the Negroes of the state can be accomplished only when Negro representitives are called into consultation on all educational discussion and given partial responsibility for decisions of educational policy."

TAFT'S NEGRO VIEW BRINGS A PROTEST

FEB — 1921

Inter-Racial Committee to Reply to Recent Utterances of the Ex-President

FAVOR WHITE LEADERSHIP

Would Deal With Rights of Men and Women "on Higher Plane Than Expediency"

Ledger

Steps were taken by the inter-racial committee of Philadelphia at its monthly meeting at the Young Friends' Association to formulate a reply to ex-President Taft's recent utterances in the PUBLIC LEDGER on "The Negro in Politics," in which they say he apparently adopted the view of white Republican party leaders in the South that party expediency must still deny the recognition of constitutional rights to colored Republicans there, and that the Negroes would better content themselves with continued disfranchisement so that they might reap more school money and suffer less lynching.

A subcommittee, consisting of Mrs. William I. Hull, of Swarthmore, and Prof. Leslie Pinckney Hill, of the Cheyney Training School, was entrusted with the preparation of the views of the inter-racial committee, favoring a white leadership dealing with the right of educated men and women on a higher plane than party expediency. It is planned to send copies of the committee's reply to Mr. Taft, President-elect Harding and to the members of Congress.

Another subcommittee, including Esther Morton Smith, of the Arch Street Friends; the Rev. Richard W. Hogue and Prof. Raymond T. Bye, of the University of Pennsylvania, reported progress in their plan to obtain the co-operation of the newspapers in the effort to relieve the tension of present inter-racial relations. Bishop Levi J. Coppin and Dr. Jesse H. Holmes were present and took part in the deliberations of the committee.

SOCIAL EQUALITY QUESTION AIRED

Inter-Racial Committee Meeting Addressed by R. T. Bye, of Wharton School

PHILA PA PUBLIC LEDGER
APRIL 4, 1921

Social equality was discussed at the meeting of the Inter-racial Committee of Philadelphia, at Fifteenth and Race streets, Saturday afternoon. The speakers stressed the common right of all citizens, without reference to race or color, to proper enjoyment of public utilities and to full opportunity to make the best use of God-given faculties.

One of the speakers said the Negro shrinks with the same delicacy as does the refined man of white skin from everything that savors of intrusion. "Without congeniality of tastes and viewpoint, without good fellowship," he said, "there can be no social equality."

Raymond T. Bye, assistant professor of Economics in the Wharton School, traced the prevalent lack of understanding on equality. He showed that most white people, from childhood up, have had more contact with the uneducated type of colored unskilled laborer, such as house servants, than with people of culture and refined feeling. They consequently judge the whole race by that one type, he said, instead of appreciating the existence of the same graduation in the colored as in the white race.

The Rev. Richard W. Hogue, executive secretary of the Church League for Democracy, paid a fine tribute to the inherent fineness of the working people and felt that the main thing was to get away from a materialistic standpoint, to remove all along the line those artificial barriers which inhibit real spiritual fellowship.

Among the guests of the committee were Lessing J. Rosenwald, son of Julius Rosenwald, of Sears, Roebuck & Co., and J. H. Howell, secretary-treasurer of the American Relief Society.

NEGRO CONDITIONS SOUTH IMPROVE FAST

Dr. Dillard Says the Vicious Element Is Retiring Before Enlightened Education

PHILA PA PUBLIC L
MARCH 7, 1921

Dr. James Hardy Dillard, of Charlottesville, Va., president of the Jeanes and Slater funds, addressed the monthly meeting of the Philadelphia inter-racial committee, at Fifteenth and Race streets, on Saturday, on present conditions in educational, religious and economic matters in the South.

Dr. Dillard passes a large part of his time in the country districts of the South surveying educational conditions in his work of distributing the bequests of the two funds. In the latter work he sees great reason for encouragement in the last few years.

Twelve years ago when the Jeanes fund was established the salaries of teachers in country schools for colored children were paid wholly by the fund, whereas now the counties pay $25,000 more than the moneys contributed from the fund. Seven of the southern states have doubled the sums originally spent on Negro schools; and eight years ago four rural high schools were started partly with Slater funds, while today there are 142 such schools.

"The North has hoodlums," Dr. Dillard said, "and we must not expect the South to be free of the same vicious elements, but in the last five years the enlightened friends of the Negro, who recognize him as a man with rights and wish to help him, have doubled in number. And the pupil is taking a firmer stand for the right treatment and lawful protection of the Negro."

As a concrete example of the awakening of conscience in these matters Dr. Dillard told the following story:

Years ago when he first moved to Louisiana a particularly heinous lynching took place within two miles of his home. He expected the whole community to rise in protest; no such thing happened. He wrote to all the clergymen of the town; not a word did they have to say. The only public notice was two letters in the papers, written by himself.

In contrast with that, when recently a lynching occurred near the University of Georgia and the student body attended, the faculty took the matter up with a strong protest and all the pulpits of the town denounced the outrage.

On economic lines, Dr. Dillard said, the colored contractor, carpenter or mason often has as good opportunities offered him as his white competitor. He said he knew of five good colored doctors in his own city, one of whom was recently called in consultation by two white colleagues.

The speaker pointed out that no great social movement, involving millions of people, is ever conducted rapidly. It is of necessity slow and wavering, but while there is great room for improvement, he sees sure ground for his belief that the vicious and ignorant element is definitely retiring before enlightened education.

PHILA PA PUBLIC LEDGER
APRIL 17, 1921

Sympathy and Co-operation Needed

To the Editor of Public Ledger:

Sir—I question the sincerity of the Inter-Racial Committee, a Committee composed of the Society of Friends and a few other peoples, having as their purport the creating of a better feeling and understanding between the colored and white races.

Mr. Raymond T. Bye, assistant professor of economics in the Wharton School, speaking on Saturday, April 2, at a meeting of the Inter-Racial Committee, admitted that the lack of understanding on equality of the races was due to the fact that most white people from childhood up have had more contact with the uneducated type of unskilled laborer, such as servants, than with colored people of culture and refined feeling. They consequently judge the whole race by that type instead of appreciating the existence of the same graduation in the colored as in the white race.

It is inconceivable that the Wharton School faculty and the entire Association of Friends are not fully aware of this fact

over

(From over)

as set forth by Professor Bye.

Therein lies my contention.

If the Society of Friends really mean what they say, it is rather singular that they have not begun at the beginning rather than in the middle to bring about a feeling of good fellowship and a common point of contact between the races.

I have yet to see any concerted effort put forth by the Society of Friends to have colored and white children educated together with mixed teachers, both colored and white.

This is the fundamental principle of good-fellowship. Children that play together, have their studies together and grow up together, and teachers that confer with each other in their class work, will have something in common, a feeling that will bind them. When the child becomes the man of affairs, and the teachers that have conferred together, instead of an antagonistic feeling between the races there will be a feeling of sympathy and of co-operation, which is so much needed in a republican form of government.

This truth is demonstrated in the Roman Catholic Church, where the parents of the unborn child are charged with the responsibility of rearing the prospective offspring in the Roman faith, with the result that more than 50 per cent of all Christians are Catholics, in other words, the combined Christian Church of all denominations is less than this one church.

The truth of the whole matter is if there is any real good to be done in a lasting or permanent way for the benefit of the two races, a beginning must be made with the teachers and children. H. H. THOMAS.
Chairman of the Racial Welfare Committee.
422 South Fifteenth street.
Philadelphia, April 5, 1921.

MEMBER OF SOCIETY OF FRIENDS PLEADS FOR PEACEFUL PROTEST OF WRONGS BY NEGROES.

Says Record of Fifty Years Achievement is Without Parallel in History and a Cheerful Attempt at Solution of Problems is Preferable to All Others.

Dallas Express
3/19/21

By WILLIAM C. ALLEN.

The writer is a member of the Society of Friends, or Quakers, who before the abolition of slavery in the British Empire and the United States, were well known as earnest workers on behalf of the freedom of the Negro race. Often has our denomination in bygone days suffered contempt and loss of property because we tried to help you.

Now, as a Friend, I want to help you. You have difficulties to encounter which your ancestors did not know. It is true that many of you are at present discouraged because of your trials. We cannot wonder at this.

But it is exceedingly important to remember how far your race has advanced in America the past 55 years. You have a record to be glad of. Compare your present holdings of real estate, your bank accounts, your schools, your churches, your honored men with the insignificant position you held with respect to these matters 55 years ago. You are a new race and in short time have forged ahead beyond what any of us would then have thought possible. Get the government statistics referring to these things and many of you will be astonished at your own progress!

I have observed the condition of the Negro race in many lands. While in some small countries a few hundred thousands of Negroes have advantages, nowhere except in America do so many of themselves as much good food, clothing and the regard of the white race, as in the United States.

Now some men urge you to resent the ill will of those who are not your friends. This will be a bad thing for you to do. Hate begets hate, force begets force, evil begets evil You have made your wonderful progress the past 55 years in spite of receiving ill-treatment and injustice from some quarters. You have given a fine example to the world of the possibilities of development whilst trust—given a fine example to the world of the possibilities of development whilst trusting in God. Do not now throw away that trust and so invite trouble for yourselves or for your children.

Do not think too much about those who have ill-used you. Do not forget that many white people have abused other white people far more than have the white people abused you of latter years. Remember that you have millions of true friends in America. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ, representing millions of church people, has spoken on your behalf. Recollect how the friendship of those who esteem you is proved by their contributions to your schools and colleges. Do not forget that while unkind words hurt, and injustices burn into our souls, there are many, many people in America who speak kind words to you and who are working on your behalf. You may not always see them but they are all about you. Do not disappoint them by loss of self-control. Keep all your friendships bright.

I appeal to you on behalf of your friends, as well as on your own behalf, not to listen to the advice of those who advocate "Striking back." The recent war has proved that force does not secure rights as does a constant, cheerful working out of the problems that assail us. Do not give up your past steady way of improvement for a new way which will only invite disaster for yourselves and your children.

Those of you who know the truth of what I say will have need of using all their influence to quite the hot heads among you. This must be done if your race is to continue its fine development in America. If your ministers continue to preach trust in God you will discover that the spiritual forces are stronger than all else. You will find that your material development will continue to grow. Great are the possibilities for you as you continue in well-doing.

Race Relations—1921.

Arkansas.

Meetings.

Women's Inter-Racial Work

The first Arkansas state conference of women to consider inter-racial relations was recently held in Little Rock. It was a representative gathering, and was characterized by the same earnestness as the Memphis conference last fall. Three colored women were present to speak by invitation of the need for cooperation from white women for the protection of Negro women, children and homes. This cooperation the members of the conference will endeavor to secure in local communities through the women's church and other organizations which they represent.

The Y. W. C. A. held a very successful conference for colored Y. workers this summer at King's Mountain, N. C., under the direction of white and colored officers of the Association. The cities represented were Richmond, Norfolk, Newport News, Petersburg and Lynchburg, Va.; Charlotte, Winston-Salem and Asheville, N. C.; Greenville, Charleston and Columbia, S. C.; and Atlanta and Augusta, Ga. Since the Y. W. C. A. organizes colored associations only in those cities where the white Y. pledges its co-operation, it will be seen that this method of inter-racial helpfulness is growing among the white women of the South.

WOMEN'S INTER-RACIAL WORK

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The National Baptist Union-Review Nashville Tenn. 10/22/21

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Race Relations

Meetings

Delaware

INTER-RACIAL MEETING

Wilmington Advocate 4/16/31

A public meeting in the interest of the Inter-racial movement will be held in the parlor of the Unitarian Church, West street above Eighth, Wilmington, on the evening of April 15th, at 8 o'clock.

Rev. Peter Ainslee, chairman of the Inter-racial Conference, of Baltimore, will address the meeting. All interested readers of The Advocate are cordially invited.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Race Relations

District of Columbia

Meetings

SEEKING INTER-RACIAL CO-OPERATION

3/5/21.

Washington, D. C., March 3.—Church leaders of the Negro race and Rev. Robert E. Speer, newly-elected president of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, conferred with reference to the information and lines of service of a commission on Negro churches and inter-racial co-operation.

As a result of the conference, it is stated, it is expected that such commission will be formed with a broad-minded southern man as its chairman and that the work will be headed up in the local office of the Federal Council of Churches.

There were present at this conference with Dr. Speer, Prof. J. R. Hawkins, Rev W. H. Jernagin, C. P. Ford, W. J. Howard, Prof. Kelly Miller, Rev. D. D. Turpeau, Dr. Charles S. MacFarland and Dr E. O. Watson.

SPEAKERS PLEAD FOR AMITY

BOTH RACES MUST LEARN TO UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER

Washington, D. C., June 1st (Associated Negro Press)—Plans for the white and colored delegates to the convention for amity beween he colored and white races to spread the new spirit of racial understanding were made by speakers at the morning session of the Inter-racial Convention, held in the First Congregational church, 10th and G streets northwest.

Representative Theodore E. Burton, Charles Lee Cook of Louisville, Ky., and Louis G. Gregory were the speakers. "The races must dwell in amity in this country because they live side by side," said Mr. Burton. " The colored race should be recognized by white men, not only because the Constitution of the United States requires it, but by the divine power of God."

"Both races," he continued, "must learn to understand each other. He told the delegates that if a crime was committed by a colored man his people should help in bringing him to justice. At the same time," he added, " if a crime was committed and the offender unknown, and a colored man happened to be around, people should not jump to the conclusion that a colored man committed it." "We are to take an important place among the nations of the world," said Senator, "but we must first put our house in order. One of the most serious blots on our national life is that of lynching. This is not against the colored man alone, but against the white man as well. I am ready to do whatever can be done, by constitutional amendment or otherwise, to remove this frightful blemish from the nation."

Hope that the convention may become the stepping-stone to the final achievement of human and universal brotherhood was expressed by Charles Lee Cook, a manufacturer of Louisville, Ky. The world, he said, is looking and has always looked, to this country for social justice. There is a great work ahead, he continued, in bringing about racial understanding. All must face it and help to achieve it, and not bury their heads in the sands of optimism. He pointed out that individuals must do their part in this great work. "Let's try to vndicate the divinely appointed mission of America. Break every bond of misunderstanding." He told the delegates to go out from the convention and spread the new spirit, a stronger spirit of Christian gratitude.

"The white and colored are one in origin and one in destiny, for from God we came and to Him we return," said Louis G. Gregory. "It is for us to consider in a way that is material how to increase inter-racial harmony."

GREAT INTER-RACIAL CONVENTION

A convention for amity between the colored and the white races will take place in Washington on May 19, 20, 21.

The ideals of the committee of representative women who have arranged this convention are expressed in the following statement, which is to appear on the program:

"Half a century ago in America slavery was abolished.

"Now there has arisen need for another great effort.

"Correction of the present wrong requires no army, for the field of action is the hearts of our citizens. The instrument to be used is kindness; the ammunition, understanding of all by all. The actor in this engagement for right is every inhabitant of these United States.

"The great work we have to do and for which this convention is called is the establishment of amity between the white and colored people of our land.

"When we have put our own house in order, then we may be trusted to carry the message of universal peace to all mankind."

Among the speakers will be men prominent in official life; and also Dr. Samuel McComb, of Baltimore; Mr. Alfred Martin, president Ethical Culture Society of New York; Mr. C. Lee Cook, of Louisville; and the eminent scholar and philosopher, Jenabe Fazel Mazandarani, of Persia.

Mrs. Coralie F. Cook, a member of the board of education of Washington, will speak on "Colored Poets and Their Poetry," and where the poetry has been put to music it will be sung by trained racial voices. Other colored speakers will be Mrs. Gabrielle Pelham, who has charge of the music; Dr. A. L. Locke, a Professor at Howard University, and Mr. Louis G. Gregory.

A charming and elaborate musical program is being arranged for all the sessions which will be of great educational value. Mrs. Pelham will describe the primitive music of the colored people, their spirituals and their modern compositions, and these will be sung.

As this convention is different in its arrangements and scope from other interracial conventions, it will make a strong appeal to the thinking people of the United States.

Men of distinction in many parts are intensely interested in this convention. Noted among the many speakers who will deliver addresses is Mr. C. Lee Cook, leading citizen of Louisville, Ky., famous for his many inventions and his constructive genius, and famous as a cripple who never walked in his life, yet refused a salary of forty thousand dollars offered him by the Government during the war. Mr. Cook is self-educated and is a miriad-minded man of genius. He has many friends for his philanthropies and is a true friend and lover of humanity. It is also probable that he will speak at Howard University during his visit to this vity.

The First Congregational Church will accommodate the sessions of this unusual convention, which will begin on Thursday evening, May 19, and continue with morning and evening sessions for two more days.

It is expected to point out to the nation a constructive program of inter-racial harmony which will be effective.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Race Relation - 1921.

Georgia.

Meetings.

GEORGIA WOMEN WILL MAKE FIGHT ON MOB VIOLENCE

The Atlanta Constitution

Special Section of State Committee on Inter-racial Co-operation Organized Here.

UPHOLD ENFORCEMENT OF LAW, THEY URGE

Declare That They Find No Extenuation for Crime, Even "Be It Violation of Womanhood."

With the organization of a special section of the Georgia state committee on inter-racial co-operation composed entirely of women, a score of prominent women of Georgia have issued an appeal to all citidens of the state to uphold the enforcement of law, to banish from their own hands the execution of justice and to practice a single standard of morals both in the white and negro races.

This appeal heartily condemns the protection of womanhood by criminal methods, stating that "if there is any one crime more dangerous than another, it is that crime that strikes at the root of, and undermines constituted authority, breaks all laws and restraints of civilization, substitutes mob violence and masked irresponsibility for established justice and deprives society of a sense of protection against barbarism."

Prominent Women Invited.

Included in the women members of the state committee who have accepted the invitation of Dr. Ashby Jones, the state chairman, to act, are the following: Mrs. A. W. Lawton, of Savannah, who is chairman of the special woman's section; Mrs. W A. Turner, of Newnan, the secretary; Mrs. Samuel M. Inman, Mrs. Emily McDougald, Mrs. J. H. McEachern, Mrs. Beaumont Davison, Miss Rosa Woodberry, Mrs. C. N. Downey, Mrs. W. A. Albright, Mrs. W. Frank Smith, Mrs. Archibald Davis, Mrs. M. Ashby Jones, Mrs. H C. Phipps, of Atlanta; Mrs. W. J. Neel, of Cartersville; Mrs. Z. I. Fitzpatrick, of Thomasville; Mrs. Lindsay Arrington and Mrs. W. M Rowland, of Augusta; Mrs. C. C. Hinton, of Macon; Mrs. T. J. Woofter, of Athens; Mrs. Hazen Smith, of LaGrange, and Mrs. Luke Johnson, of Griffin.

Resolutions adopted at the organization meeting outline the scope of the committee's activities acknowledge "the responsibility of sharing with all good citizens the duty of emphasizing and perpetuating the ideals of our fathers in the founding of this commonwealth in 'wisdom, justice and moderation.'" Then follows the appeal to the public at large to uphold public officials in the discharge of their duties, "to recognize the forces which are undermining our life, and to speedily banish self constituted groups and agencies which presume to usurp authority, set aside the dignity of the law and constitute themselves the prosecutors, jurors, judges and executors of suspected criminals."

No Extenuation for Crime.

"We have a deep sense of appreciation for the chivalry of men who would give their lives for the purity and safety of women," they state; "yet we feel constrained to declare our convictions concerning the methods sometimes employed in this supposed protection. We find in our hearts no extenuation for crime, be it violation of womanhood, mob violence or the illegal taking of human life.

"We are convinced that if there is any one crime more dangerous than another, it is that crime which strikes at the root of, and undermines constituted authority, breaks all laws and restraints of civilization, substitutes mob violence and masked irresponsibility for established justice and deprives society of a sense of protection against barbarism.

"Therefore, we believe that no falser appeal can be made to southern manhood than that mob violence is necessary for the protection of womanhood, or that the brutal practice of lynching and burning of human beings is an expression of chivalry. We believe that these methods are no protection to anything or anybody, but that they jeopardize every right and every security that we possess.

"The double standard of morals which society passively permits is rapidly producing results that imperil the future integrity of our national life and we are persuaded that this problem can never be solved as long as there is a double standard for men and women of any race. We appeal for the creation of a public sentiment which will no longer submit to this condition and declare ourselves for the protection of womanhood of whatever race.

"We are convinced that if there is ever to be a solution of the race problem there must be an intensive and sustained campaign to instruct whites and negroes to respect both moral and civil law. Therefore, we recommend that all people give themselves to a definite study of these vital matters relating to justice and righteousness and that the press, pulpit, platform and school endeavor to lead public thought in bringing about a state of public opinion that will compel the protection of the purity of both races."

Further recommendations made in the findings related to the formation of subcommittees on negro churches, schools and homes, for the study of conditions as they now exist so as to arrive at a more accurate knowledge of their needs and so as to better understand the responsibilities devolving upon the committee.

The resolutions were presented by a committee composed of Messdames Inman, McDougal, McEachern. Neel, Phipps, Matthews and Davis, and were unanimously adopted by the nineteen members of the committee who were present. Mrs. Lawton and Mrs. Davison were out of the city and Miss Woodberry was also unavoidably absent.

INTER-RACIAL MEETING WILL BE HELD TODAY

The Atlanta Constitution 9/21/21

The third annual all-day conference for discussion of inter-racial work, and especially of the Atlanta Presbyterian colored missions, will be held Wednesday at the First Presbyterian church. L. D. Strouss, chairman of the committee on colored work in the Atlanta presbytery, will preside. Devotions will be conducted by Dr. R. O. Flinn. Miss Lilla Head and Rev. Graham F. Campbell will speak upon various departments of the Presbyterian colored missions. "Inter-racial Work" will be the subject of a talk by James Morton. "Women's Interracial Work" will be discussed by Mrs. Archibald Davis.

Three-minute talks will be made by Mrs. Edgar Watkins, Mrs. Worsham, Mrs. M. L. Thrower, Mrs. Grier Martin, Mrs. Newman and by Dr. Paul Brown. Mrs. W. C. Winsborough will speak upon the work of the colored women of the Southern Presbyterian church. "The Need of Workers" will be discussed by R. M. Matson. Lunch will be served by the women of the First Presbyterian church.

RACIAL PROBLEMS ARE CONSIDERED

The Atlanta Constitution 9/22/21

Resoultions expressing optimism in reference to the solution of present and future racial problems in the south were passed unanimously by more than two hundred representatives of local Presbyterian church Wednesday afternoon in the First Presbyterian church at the close of an all-day session, which is held annually and known as "Black Wednesday."

This is the third time "Black Wednesday" has been held in Atlanta, and as far as is known the day is observed in no other part of the country. Its purpose is to discuss racial problems and make plans for bettering relations between whites and blacks.

The Presbyterian churches of Atlanta have two centers here for work among the negroes. They are known as the Frazier street mission and the Pittsburg mission.

Wednesday's meeting was presided over by L. D. Strauss, chairman of the committee on work among negroes in the Atlanta presbytery. Among the speakers were Miss Lilla Head, Mrs. Archibald Davis, Mrs. W. C. Winsborough, Mrs. Edgar Watkins, Mrs. L. G. Worsham, Rev. Graham E. Campbell, R. M. Matson and James Morton.

Part of the resolutions follow:

"We note with satisfaction the continued growth and fruitfulness of the work carried on by white people for negroes in the two gospel centers in Atlanta, maintained by Presbyterians.

"We earnestly commend to Presbyterian churches in other communities the opportunity for organized effort for negroes along the lines followed in Louisville, Ky., Richmond, Va., and Atlanta.

"And our professed conviction is that the negro problem can be solved by Christianity alone."

DETROIT MICH FREE PRESS SEPTEMBER 24, 1921

URGES RACIAL EQUALITY IN WORSHIP OF GOD

To the Editor: A resolution was recently introduced in the Atlanta Ga. city council to prohibit interracial worship in that city. This resolution had its inspiration in the fact that a few Negro Catholics worship in a small Catholic church in Atlanta. It seems to me, a Protestant, that the Catholic church is to be commended rather than censured for opening its church to Negroes to worship—for if there is a spot on earth where equality should prevail it is within the sacred precincts of the church. What must be the mental attitude of men who would by law forbid those few Negroes in Atlanta from worshiping God in their chosen church, especially when it is agreeable to the white congregation?

EUGENE J. DIXON.

Detroit, Sept. 20, 1921.

The Missionary Conference in Atlanta

The Atlanta Independent 9/29/21

(Mrs.) M. E. Muldrow.

The Conference for Colored Women, which met at Gammon Seminary Sept. 17-24, under the leadership of Mrs. W. C. Winsborough, was an overwhelming success. There were fifty-six delegates, representing five different states and thirty-nine different cities and towns. One of the attractive features of the conference was that all denominations were represented, showing more and more that denominational prejudice is disappearing, remembering only the fact that we are all working for one common cause, to uplift humanity and further the Kingdom of God.

The Bible lessons given by Mrs. W. E. Hinds, subject, "Some Great Life Questions and How Jesus Met Them," were most instructive and helpful. Each day as the Bible hour closed we felt a greater desire to live the Christ life, and solve life's problems as Jesus solved them.

Mrs. R. M. Toliver, of Atlanta, gave some practical lessons in nursing, from which the delegates received many helpful suggestions in taking care of the sick in the home.

"Better Schools and How to Get Them" was stressed in the address given by Mr. Walter Hill, superintendent of Rural Education in Georgia.

"Schools and Homes," as taught by Miss Lydia Thornton, state supervisor for Georgia, stressed the value of plenty of fresh air, wholesome food properly prepared, and clean, sanitary living.

The sewing class, under Miss Lilla Head, was well attended.

Miss Kate Kelly made us all happy with the splendid playground demonstrations, going from the kindergarten to the high school boy and girl.

The Conference was especially favored with splendid addresses from the following persons: Dr. Dorothy Bocker, Mrs. J. B. Watson, Major R. R. Moton.

Dr. Watters, president of Gammon and his co-workers, gave us a most cordial welcome, and everything was done to make the stay pleasant. This was the first conference of its kind held in Atlanta. But the way has been opened now for the meetings to be held annually, and we are coming back next year 100 per cent strong.

The delegates went back home feeling much inspired and with a greater determination to do more for the uplift of humanity along the lines of better homes, better shools and bette communities. Remembering the words of our Lord Jesus, "In as much as ye have done it unto the least of these, my brethren, ye have done it unto Me."

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Race Relations
Meetings

EDUCATION AIDS SOUTHERN NEGRO

DALLAS TIMES NEWS
MARCH 21, 1921

NASHVILLE MAN BEFORE OPEN FORUM TELLS OF RACE SITUATION.

The question of economics involved in the interracial relationships between white and black people of America, and the need of considering the negroes from a more humanitarian standpoint instead of one of mere racial differences, was stressed by Dr. W. D. Weatherford of Nashville, Tenn., before the Dallas Open Forum at the City Hall Auditorium Sunday afternoon. He was introduced by Professor Paul B. Kern of Southern Methodist University.

"Negro Life in America" was the subject of the speaker. He laid particular emphasis upon the economic effect of the negro on Southern life and business. He declared the labor question in the South at present to be serious and said the South can not afford to permit its negro laborers to move to the North because of better wages there.

The need of education to instill in them a desire for the better things of life and the improvement of themselves and associates was discussed at length. Dr. Weatherford pointed out that the condition of the lowliest negro in the negro sections of Dallas directly or indirectly affects the lives of the richest of its inhabitants. The progress of the negro race in decreasing the illiteracy among its people since the close of the Civil War was highly commended by Dr. Weatherford. The address in part follows:

Beginning a New Era.

"Today marks a new day in the history of the races, when the whites and blacks of the South can sit down together and face actual facts," he said. "I am going to give you a practical statement of the racial question. We whites must be interested in the races because it is a question of a great economic problem that is involved. We need laborers in the South and we can not afford to let anyone who can work leave the South. Many millions of dollars are tied up in the relations between the white man and the black man. The negro finds that he can make more money in the North and consequently he will go there. Several causes enter into that; the boll weevil in the South, floods of the Mississippi, the springing up of munition plants and factories in the East and other matters. The best labor in the South is obtained from the negro."

Affects Realms of Farmers.

"The question affects the economic realm of the farm. In the South the negro owns 15,000,000 acres of farm land; he rents approximately 24,000,000 acres more, and it was negro labor that tilled about 60,000,000 acres, according to statistics. If we would train these negroes it would mean many millions of dollars to the white race. For that one reason of economics alone it would justify us to be interested in the black man."

Dr. Weatherford related a number of instances of his personal experience where education of the negro had resulted in great improvement of the work and character of the negro.

"It pays us further to take an interest in the negro because we are closely allied," he said. "We are a unit and what affects one affects the other. We've got to be interested in the other man fros the standpoint of self-protection. We must be interested because neglect of him will affect us. The housing conditions of a city are of paramount importance to all the rest of the city. Where the ownership of homes grows the health of the community is better and the death rate lower.

"In 1918 the death rate in Dallas among the whites was 11 per thousand and among the blacks 17 per thousand. This indicates that the rate was one-half time again as large among the more poorly housed. The differenc is due to the pitiful houses in which many negroes of the city live. You colored people must save money and have your own homes. The whites are partially responsible for this condition, but you negroes just as much."

"Poor Homes Breed Criminals."

He touched upon the injustice of wealthy property owners extracting exorbitant reantls from negroes for ramshackle houses in dilapidated sections of the city without sanitary living conditions. "We can't afford to live out of the blood of the poor," he said. "It is a problem that concerns us all. How do you expect to prevent the growing of criminals in districts where the negro mo[illegible] her children in [illegible] so that she may go out and earn a living for them?"

Yesterday's session of the Forum marked the fortieth of the 1920-21 season. Sunday, March 27, the season will close, having experienced a highly successful year, according to Elmer Scott, director of the forum. Mr. Scott declared that the schedules of prominent lecturers were made up in the spring and it was necessary to secure speakers for next winter now if the best lecture talent in the country were desired. He announced that approximately $1,500 in pledges would be sufficient to insure a well-balanced program and asked interested citizens to make use of the pledge blanks mailed out some time ago.

Texas

UNIVERSITY HEAD EXPLAINS INTER-RACIAL COMMISSION AIMS TO LOCAL PASTORS AND LAYMEN

Houston Informer 7/16/21

Dr. M. W. Dogan, president of Wiley University, Marshall, Texas, and a member of the Southern Inter-Racial Commission, was the chief speaker at a special meeting of the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance of which Rev. S. W. Johnson is president and Rev. R. W. Wells secretary. This meeting was largely attended by the local pastors, laymen and visiting ministers, held at Bebee Tabernacle Tuesday.

A committee of white citizens was present and after Dr. Dogan's address they spoke freely and frankly concerning inter-racial relations and urged that such a commission be formed in Houston to work for a great city and more harmonious relations between the two races here. The white speakers were W. L. Stallings of the Chamber of Commerce, William S. Patton, vice president of the Houston National Exchange Bank and William I. Shotwell, one of our leading merchants. The last two speakers hit the bull's-eye with their remarks and were roundly cheered by the audience.

Dr. Dogan delivered one of the most timely and far-reaching speeches ever heard in Houston. It was no oratorical dissertation, but a calm, cool and dispassionate plea for the launching of an inter-racial commission here and a recital of what such a movement had accomplished in other Southern communities.

He dealt in facts and figures and advised as to the best method to pursue in making the movement a real constructive and protective force in the community life.

The speaker advised against the condemnation of race journals, despite what editorial attitude said papers assume from time to time, stating that in the face of present conditions these editors can not be blamed for strong denunciations of wrong and lawlessness.

He urged that God be taken into the movement and given the front seat or prime place and all things would work for good; but with Him out no real good could be accomplished.

The distinguished educator, who has just rounded out one quarter of a century as head of one of the greatest institutions of learning for colored youths in the South, made it plain to his auditors that race men should be selected by the race and that only real, manly men should be chosen. He discouraged the idea of selecting lackeys,—"me-too-boss," week-kneed, head-scratching and squatting Negroes, who possess no backbone and who will agree with everything that the white members say.

At the conclusion of his speech a motion prevailed that the chair appoint a committee of seven, composed of ministers and laymen, to nominate the colored representatives for the commission and report same to a called meeting to be held at Mt. Zion Baptist Church, Canal Street, Friday, July 15, 10 a. m.

It now begins to look like The Informer's persistent contention for an inter-racial commission in Houston is going to become a realization and President Johnson is to be congratulated for bringing Dr. Dogan here to lend impetus to the movement at this time.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Race Relations

Meetings

Virginia

Inter-Racial Committee Protests Immoral Conditions

(By the Associated Negro Press.)

Newport News, Va., Jan. 6.—What is expected to be a forerunner of similar movements throughout the South was taken here recently in a protest of Colored citizens at the presence in their section of houses of ill repute, voiced at a meeting of the Inter Racial Committee. The strenuous protests started the committee delegates to work at once with the city authorities in their anti-vice crusade.

Colored people of Newport News last night registered protest of the presence of houses of ill repute in their section of the city, following which the Inter-Racial Committee delegates George Hardy, Dr. P. A. Scott and J. H. Ridley to work with the city authorities in the anti-vice crusade.

Most of the houses, it was charged at the meeting are patronized by white men despite the fact that they are maintained by colored women. Colored people with the exception of the inmates, are barred in most instances, the committee's informants declared.

Representative colored men declared that their daughters are in danger of being lured from their homes by the proprietors of the houses. "They will not let respectable colored people cross their threshold and we have no means of assisting the authorities in the suppression or the regulation of these places, for we do not know what is going on," one of the speakers is quoted as saying.

The Negro members of the committee declared that they do not want the section in which they live contaminated by the houses and their inmates.

They further declared that nothing is quite so disgusting to respectable colored people as the sight of white men skulking through the darkness to be in the company of colored women—women who often are social outcasts of their own race.

Personel of the Inter-Racial Committee Announced

Journal & Guide 3/13/21

The Inter-Racial Commission of this city was recently announced by Mr. S. D. Spady, State Secretary of the Colored Men's Department, with headquarters in Richmond. The object of the commission is to get more cooperation between the races.

A meeting was held March 2nd at the Queen Street Branch Y. M. C. A. which was well attended.

The following men make up the local commission: Mayor A. [illegible] Dr. Southgate Leigh, Mr. [illegible] Cockran, Dr. Schenck, and Adj. Gen. Dillingham approve of the work and program of the Inter-Racial Commission, and will be members of the Norfolk Committee. The colored members are: Rev. C. P. Madison Rev. R. H. Bowling, Dr. D. W. Byrd, Dr. F. R. Trigg, Mr. P. B. Young, Mr. C. C. Dogan, Mr. William M. Rich, Rev. D. F. White, Prof. D. G. Jacox, Dr. G. H. Francis, Mr. J. S. Jones, Rev. J. H. Ashby, Rev. F. W. Williams and Dr. A. L. Paey.

Colored Women's Conference Held at Christiansburg, Va.

One Week's Work Under Auspices of the Woman's Auxiliary of the Presbyterian Church--Two More To Be Held

New York Age 9/10/21

(Special to The New York Age)

Christiansburg, Va.—Under the auspices of the Woman's Auxiliary of the Presbyterian Church a conference of one week's work, especially for the matured Negro women, was held at Christiansburg, Va., August 20-27. There will be two similar conferences held. One at Stillman Seminary, Tuscaloosa, Ala., September 10-17, and another at Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Ga., September 17-24.

This conference work was organized about 1916 at Tuscaloosa, Ala. Its object is to reach as many women as possible who have some initiative in community work and who are leaders of thought and Christian work in their towns, and who have not the means nor the time to attend summer schools or take correspondence courses.

Definite Work Done.

There is definite work given in certain subjects, viz.: Home Making—treating it from the material side and the moral and spiritual sides; Practical Nursing; Canning; Playground Demonstrations; Plain Sewing; Bible Study and Singing, also a series of lectures of various topics.

Rev. J. H. Longnecker, a returned missionary, lecturer on Congo Belge, with steropticon. Mrs. C. R. Vaughan spoke on the work of the Montgomery Presbytery. Mrs. R. I. Roop, a very earnest talk on "Influence." Attorney T. C. Walker on "Organized Efforts." Mrs. H. L. Schmeltz emphasized "Co-operation—A Means to Bring About a Better Understading Between the Races." She explained the Inter-racial Commission. Allen Doggett gave a very fine stereopticon on Hampton Institute and its pupils. Mrs. Winsborough took us "in mind" on a very interesting Trip in the Orient.

Daily Constructive Lessons.

The daily instructors were Mrs. W. C. Winsborough, St. Louis, Mo., superintendent and organizer of the conference. Mrs. Winsborough gave many very helpful and instructive and constructive lessons on Community Problems. Mrs. J. Calvin Stewart, Richmond, Va., was the instructor in Bible study and singing. She is well versed in this work and is an efficient as well as an inspiratorial teacher. Mrs. J. W. Whitaker of Tuskegee, Ala., was so thoroughly imbued with her subject—Nursing—that she made all the women feel how important was the place of the nurse in restoring the bodies of our loved ones. The sewing under Mrs. H. A. Long, Christiansburg, Va., was instructive and was one of the classes where each tried to out do the other in beautifully finished pieces. Miss M. E. Fisback, Louisville, Ky., was full of enthusiasm in teaching playground work and what can be the insult of play. Every member of the conference, even the oldest, who was 75 years, could not forego her work.

Delegates from Four States.

There were fifty delegates from the States of Virginia, North Carolnia Tennessee and West Virginia, representing twenty-five towns and cities. Though the conference is supported by the Presbyterian Church, its attendance is entirely undenominational. At this conference every Protestant church was represented.

This conference was the result of much long, patient work and planning by Mrs. R. I. Roop, of Christianburg, Va., assisted by Mrs. E. A. Long, of Christianburg Institute.

THE COLORED WOMAN'S CONFERENCE AT CHRISTIANSBURG, VA., AUG. 26-27, 1921

Journal & Guide 9/3/21

Under the auspices of the Woman's Auxiliary of the Presbyterian Church a conference of one week's work, especially for the matured Negro woman, was held at Christiansburg, Va., August 20-27. There will be two similar conferences held, one at Stillman Seminary, Tuscaloosa, Ala., September 10-17, and another at Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Ga. Sept. 17-24.

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There is definite work given in certain subjects, viz: Home Making—treating it from the material side and the moral and spiritual sides; Practical Nursing; Canning; Playground Demonstrations; Plain Sewing; Bible Study and Singing, also a series of lectures on various topics. Sunday morning, Rev. B. L. Downing, Roanoke, Va., gave an able and thoughtful sermon. Text, "Thy Kingdom Come." Rev. J. H. Longnecker, a returned missionary, lectured on Congo Belge, with stereopticon. Mrs. C. R. Vaughn spoke on the work of the Montgomery Presbyterial, Mrs. R. I. Roop, a very earnest talk on "Influence." Atty. T. C. Walker, on "Organized Efforts." Mrs. H. L. Schmeltz emphasized "Co-operation—A Means to Bringing About a Better Understanding Between the Races" She explained the Inter-racial Commission. Mr. Allen Doggett gave a very fine stereopticon on Hampton Institute and its pupils. Mrs. Winnsborough took us "in mind" on a very interesting "trip in the Orient."

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WHITE WOMEN OPPOSE THE DISTURBERS

Journal & Guide

White Women Go On Record As Strongly Condemning Organizations That Breed Class, Race or Religious Hatred

Va. 9/18/24

WOULD DENY USE OF PUBLIC BLDGS.

Special to Journal & Guide

Lynchburg, Va.—At a meeting this afternoon during the quarterly session of the League of Women Voters of Virginia, (white), the board of directors passed resolutions urging the "suppression of clandestine agency nad associations which seek to usurp the prerogatives of the law; condemning the activities of all organizations whose motive is to engender class ,race or religious antagonism." It was regretted that court houses, schools and other public

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

buildings are used for meetings of these organizations.

Other resolutions intended to further social welfare by legislation and to call attention to the fact that the leauge is all partisan in nature and desires its members to associate themselves with one or the other of the political parties in Virginia.

(Southern Publicity Committee.

The inter-racial committee of Newport News, Va., meets monthly, and has been particularly successful in its work. A new high school for colored pupils is now assured; the authorities have cooperated heartily in cleaning up the city as regards both health and vice conditions; and when the committee joined the white Y. W. C. A. in petitioning for a probation officer as a small beginning of needed work, they were given four, two white and two colored.

RACES WORK FOR CO-OPERATION

Norfolk Journal & Guide

Inter-racial Committees At Charlottesville and Caroline County Plan Improvement In Faculties for Work and Play

11/12/21

Charlottesville, Va.,—The Joint Committee of Charlottesville was reorganized here today with a good representation of both races present. A. F. Howard was chosen as Chairman of the joint group; L. A. Davis, Secretary; Dr. C. V. Cook, Vice-Chairman of the white group and G. P. Inge, Vice-Chairman of the colored group. A short review of work already accomplished by Inter-Racial Committes in other Counties and Communities was made by the State Secretary. Expressions of opinion, brief and to the point were made by members of both races present as to the great benefits to be derived from Conference together on matters affecting the relationships of the races.

Following this, two sub-committees were appointed, composed of representatives of both races. One, on the matter of the abolition of the chain ang under the Chairmanship of Dr. H .S. Hedges. The other, on a negro playground under the Chairmanship of A. G. Burnet. Both Chairmen had been previously interested in these subjects.

A prominent white citizen has definitely promised to pay one thousand dollars on the price of a two thousand dollar piece of land for the playground. By resolution the joint committee will meet monthly on a set date and at a regular time and place. The two groups will also meet separately at least once a month.

Caroline County.,—The Inter-Racial Committee meets regularly and much has been done through the Committee to improve the health and educational facilities in the County. The Negroes of the County made a request for an additional appropriation for Negro schools. Through the influence of the Inter-Racial Committee, the request was favorably received and granted. The relationship between the races is of the best in this County. The Negroes in the County are especially grateful to Rev. E. H. Rowe, Dr. Gravett and Mr. Smith, the County Treasurer, members of the Committee.

INTER-RACIAL BODY WOULD AID NEGRO

RICHMOND VA LEADER
NOVEMBER 22, 1921

In resolutions passed recently by the women's section of the state inter-racial committee, of RICHMOND, the organization urged that "more adequate provision be made for the education, public health, child welfare, recreation and general living conditions of the negro."

The resolutions added: "We deplore any conditions in our midst that tend to widen the breach between peoples whom circumstances have thrown together and whose destinies are inevitably interwoven in our own and coming generations. We believe righteousness, justice, peace and good will can be established between races of different colors."

The resolutions are signed by thirty-one officers and members of the committee.

COMMITTEES WORK WITH COMMON AIM

Norfolk Journal & Guide

Inter-racial Committees In Newport News and Charlottesville Make Splendid Efforts to Better Living Conditions.

12/10/21

WILL PURCHASE PLAY GROUND

Charlottesville, Va.,—The regular monthly meeting of the Inter-Racial Committee was held November 28. Mr. Burnet, chairman of Sub-Committee on colored playground reported that several meetings of the Committee had been held, ground viewed and plans for raising money among Negroes discussed. After a full discussion of the subject by white and Negro members of the Inter-Racial Committee the playground committee was requested to proceed at once and see if half the purchase price could not be raised within next fifteen days. The sub-committee was also authorized to make any necessary arrangements with regard to the purchase of the property.

Dr. Hodges, Chairman of sub-committe on chain gang reported that the matter had been taken up with the city authorities. The latter felt that on account of the transient and non-resident character of the present occupants of the city jail, it seemed unwise to take action in the matter. After a full discussion of the subject it was the unanimous opinion of the members of the Inter-Racial Committee, that the ball and chain should be removed from the men on the streets. The Committee was requested to continue its work.

Newport News, Va.,—Two outstanding features of the Inter-Racial Committee's work in Newport News are that the Negro members of the Commitee with the assistance of the White Chairman are.

1st. Helping in co-operation with the city authorities of Newport News to correct evils that exist among the people of their own race.

2nd. To help the Negroes of Newport News realize they have a. resonsibility to the community in which they live.

At the November meeting the following sub-committees largely composed of Negroes reported as follows: Sub-committee on vice conditions in Negro section of the city reported that as a result of the work of the Inter-Racial Committee, the vice situation was clearing up and that buildings and districts formerly used for these immoral purposes were being abandoned. Sub-committee on improvement of the character of productions in Negro playhouses made a report condemning certain features as detrimental to morals and recommended farther investigation. Committee on Pest House reported that city authorities had moved location of Pest House from Negro section to a point outside of city limits. Sub-committee on night schools for Negro men and women reported night schools doing well and attendance encouraging. Sub-committee on Negro High School reported enrollment had increased to nearly 300 and school building was filled. The Inter-Racial Committee was largely influential in securing the consent of the City School Board to make this extension of Negro school facilities. Committee of three appointed to look over conditions as to the needs of another school in one of the Negro sections of the city and endeavor to help the people of that community to raise funds for another school building.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Race Relations - 1921.

Meetings.

SOUTHERN WHITE WOMEN AGAIN SPEAK.

The New York Age 10/8/21

Last week we had an editorial on the utterances of the white women of Georgia associated with the Georgia State Committee on Inter-Racial Cooperation, condemning mob violence and lynching. In that statement, the women declared that mob violence was not necessary for the protection of Southern white women, and that the brutal practice of lynching and burning of human beings was not an expression of chivalry. They declared that such methods were no protection to anything or anybody, but that they jeopardized every right and every security.

These words came as a ray of light, because the white women of the South have so long been silent regarding these false standards that have been erected around them regarding the terrible crimes which have been committed in their name.

And now comes another ray of light. The white women of Alabama have spoken out. The Montgomery "Advertiser" of September 29th, carried on its front page an account of the gathering of 200 white women from all over the State of Alabama. These women constituted the Alabama Women's State Committee on Inter-Racial Cooperation. The objects of the meeting were declared to be justice before the law, education, and better conditions of health and sanitation for the Negro of the State and of the South. These women felt it necessary to qualify the objects of the meeting by stating that its aims were in no sense political and that it did not advocate social equality or the repeal of the Jim-Crow law, or any similar form of agitation. That on the other hand, its aims were "to deal with the Negroes of Alabama in a spirit of Christian charity with the view that white superiority carries with it certain obligations to the inferior race which should be met in a spirit of Christian helpfulness and goodwill.

However, these qualifications need not be allowed to lessen the recognition of the central purposes in the minds of the white women who met at this gathering. And that purpose was to declare to the State of Alabama, to the South, and to the country that they were opposed to mob violence and lynching, even when the defense offered for it was the protection of Southern white womanhood.

The report which was adopted at the meeting, read in part as follows:

> "In organizing the Woman's Section of the Alabama State Committee on Inter-Racial Cooperation, at the invitation of the State committee, we are moved by a sense of responsibility in sharing in the solution of this great world problem.
>
> "We recognize the fact that the late war intensified racial feeling throughout the world; that our strategic position in the center of a tense racial situation in America lays upon us an unusual opportunity of demonstrating methods of racial adjustment.
>
> "Therefore, we hasten to declare ourselves for the enforcement of the laws of our state and nation, through the duly constituted officials, who are known and are responsible for their acts.
>
> "We believe that a speedy administration of the law will tend to discourage criminality on the part of law violators and will encourage an indifferent citizenship to create and support a public sentiment for the upholding of law and order.
>
> "It is inconceivable to us that mob violence is possible within our government and that groups of individuals can usurp the power of properly constituted authority.
>
> "We protest:
>
> "1. Against all mob violence by any race for any crime.
>
> "2. Against the claim that lynching is necessary for the protection of white womanhood.
>
> "3. Against a double standard of morals which tends toward amalgamation of the races and threatens racial integrity.
>
> "We pledge ourselves uncompromisingly for a single standard of morals for all, and to this end we call to the manhood of our own race to join with us in a crusade for the protection of the womanhood of both races.

Ga.

Southern White Women Deny Mob Violence Protects Them

They Point Out It Hits Constitutional Authority And Ask For One Standard Of Morals. Want Self Constituted Groups And K. K. K. Banished

ATLANTA, Ga., Sept. 21.—"We find in our hearts no extenuation for crime, be it violation of womanhood, mob violence, or the illegal taking of human life," declares a statement just issued by a special section of the Georgia State Committee on Inter-Racial Co-operation, composed entirely of women, which has just been organized here to banish all groups which would take into their own hands the execution of justice to set up a single standard of morals both in the white and the colored races. Then follows the appeal to the public at large to uphold public officials in the discharge of their duties, to recognize the forces which are undermining our life, and speedily to banish self-constituted groups and agencies which presume to usurp authority, set aside the dignity of the law and constitute themeselves the prosecutors, jurors, judges and executors of suspected criminals."

"We have a deep sense of appreciation for the chivalry of men who would give their lives for the purity and safety of women," they declare. "But we feel constrained to declare our convictions concerning the methods sometimes employed in this supposed protection. We find in our hearts no extenuation for crime, be it violation of womanhood, mob violence or the illegal taking of human life.

"We are convinced that if there is any one crime more dangerous than others, it is that crime which strikes at the root of, and undermines constituted authority, breaks all laws and restraints of civilizaton and masked irresponsibility for established justice and deprives society of a sense of protection against barbarism.

"Therefore, we believe that false appeal can be made to Southern manhood that mob violence is necessary for the protection of womanhood, or that the brutal practise of lynching and burning of human beings is an expression of chivalry. We believe that these methods are no protection nobody but that they jeopardize every right and every security that we possess.

"The double standard of morals, which society passively permits is rapidly producing results that imperil the future integrity of our national life and we are persuaded that this problem can never be solved as long as there is a double standard for men and women of any race. We appeal for the creation of a public sentiment which will no longer submit to this condition and declare ourselves for the protection of womanhood of whatever race.

"We are convinced that if there is ever to be a solution of the race problem there must be an intensive and sustained campaign to instruct whites and Negroes to respect both moral and civil law. Therefore we recommend that all people give themselves to a definite study of these vital matters relating to justice and righteousness and that the press, pupit, platform and school endeavor to lead public thought in bringing about a state of public opinion that will compel the protection of the purity of both races."

Among the women in the newly organized body are: Mrs. A. W. Lawton of Savannah, who is chairman of the special woman's section; Mrs. W. A. Turner of Newman, secretary; Mrs. Samuel M. Inman, Mrs. Emily McDougall, Mrs. J. H. McEachern, Mrs. Beaumont Davidson, Miss Rosa Woodberry, Mrs. C. N. Downey, Mrs. W. A. Albright, Mrs. W. Frank Smith, Mrs. Archibald Davis, Mrs. M. Eshby Jones, Mrs. H. C. Phipps of Atlanta, Mrs. W. J. Neel of Cartersville, Mrs. A. I. Fitzpatrick of Thomasville, Mrs. C. C. Hinton of Macon, Mrs. T. J. Woofter of Athens, Mrs. Hazen Smith of LaGrange, and Mrs. Luke Johnson of Griffin.

REEL 14

Race Relations

Meetings

Alabama.

INTERRACIAL DUTY PLEA OF REPORTER AID IS INVITED

Birmingham Reporter 3/19/2

The Birmingham Reporter in its last week's issue carried a story respecting a committee of nine men who visited The Baptist Leader office, and in this story the discussion points to a certain organization as being responsible for the visit. The story does not charge that any organization directed the movement or that any organization is responsible, in fact it is not known to this publication who was responsible whether they represented an organization or whether they represented only themselves, and because of this there is no disposition on the part of this paper to place the burden, and the article only made known discussions as are going the rounds in the community among Negro people.

The information has come to this office that the references are plain against an organization and understood as an undue attack on the organization both in its purpose and efforts.

The information also comes to this office that the general tone of the article referred to might tend to stir up racial trouble in this community. The editor desires in this connection to state that such was not the intention nor the motive of the article, but to state for the benefit of the readers of this publication of both races that such a thing is the very farthest from the policy of this paper and the intentions of its editorial staff. On the contrary only by constructive and intelligent methods and conscientious effort may a basis of harmony between the races be maintained in the Southland, and this paper pledges itself at all times to strive for that end. The Reporter will welcome any suggestions made by members of both the white and the colored races toward that end, and take pleasure and esteem it a privilege to co-operate with any man or set of men who conscientiously and truly have the same good purposes in view.

INTER-RACIAL COMMITTEE MEETS AT TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE; RACE CO-OPERATION IS DISCUSSED

Birmingham Reporter 6/17/21

Tuskegee Institute, Ala., June 16.—Twenty-five members of the Colored State Inter-Racial Committee of the Alabama Branch of the Southern Inter-Racial Commission met at Tuskegee Institute Tuesday, June 7th. The session was presided over by Dr. R. R. Moton, principal of the Tuskegee Institute, who is chairman of the committee. The reports of the representatives showed clearly the progress of the work accomplished by the commission in the state and embodied a spirit of hopefulness and optimism. A program was formulated, by which more constructive work may be done, including the appointment of the following committees: Executive committee, committee on legal and civic justice and education. Resolutions were drawn up setting forth the aims of the committee and the essential elements necessary to bring about more cordial relationships between the races, a copy of which was sent to the white state committee which met at Birmingham Friday, at which meeting the colored committee was represented by the newly appointed executive committee. Judge H. L. Anderton represented the white state committee at the meeting Tuesday.

For Immediate Release.

(Southern Publicity Committee.)

The Southern Mtehodist church has just held a week's institute at Birmingham, Ala., for colored ministers. Dr. W. W. Alexander of Atlanta, director of the Inter-Racial Commission, was in charge; and the courses were given by leading men of the two churches, white and colored. Two hundred ministers from fourteen conferences attended The expenses were met by the Southern Methodist Board of Missions.

SCHOOL DRIVE ON IN DEAD EARNEST.

The School Improvement Association and the High School Alumni met at the Owens School and State Street church, respectively, Thursday afternoon and night, July 28. After listening to a brief but comprehensive report by Dr. E. T. Belsaw of the labors of the Inter-Racial Committee in behalf of the new high school building both organizations voted to put on a drive immediately for two thousand dollars, and unanimously elected Dr. E. T. Belsaw, Mr. Jas. T. Peterson, and Mr. C. W. Peters an Executive Committee to direct the campaign. The chairman, Dr. Belsaw appointed Prof. W. A. Caldwell general secretary and Mr. C. W. Peters, Treasurer. The drive will be conducted by two armies of flowers, the Carnations and the Sunflowers, who will engage in a friendly but lively contest for raising the largest amount of money. Mrs. Della Burroughs was chosen General of the Carnation army, and Mrs. Oreta Brown, General of the Sunflowers. A telegram from Mrs. Pauline H. Jackson of Birmingham, sending twenty-five dollars as the first contribution to the school fund, elicited prolonged applause.

Let every loyal citizen rally enthusiastically to the support of these earnesct leaders and their noble coworkers in an effort to accomplish one of the grandest educational achievements in the history of the colored people in Mobile.

The Majestic old building on St. Anthony Street will stand as an everlasting monument to the self-sacrificing labors of the men and women who will "go over the top" in this financial drive to secure for their children and their childrens' children a modern Industrial High School.

The Alumni effected a permanent organization with Mr. Geo. B. Griffin, President, Vice President, Mr. Robt. A. Brown, Secretary, Miss Virginia Carter, Treasurer.

Mr. Robert A. Davis is President of the School Improvement Association, Miss Sara C. Haywood, Secretary, Mrs. Lulo B. Leeper, Treasurer.

Captains, Lieutenants and Privates of both contending armies will report to their respective Generals every Thursday afternoon at 5 o'clock at the Owen's School, 207 North Broad Street.

ALA. WHITE WOMEN BEGIN INTER-RACIAL WORK ON SOUND BASIS

The Times Plain Dealer

Birmingham Ala 10/8/21

Protest vs. Mobbing and Double Standards.

Montgomery. Oct. 5.—Are you interested in the common good of both the white and Negro races?

This is a question that is being put up to the public in a new way.

It is being advanced by an organization of more than 200 women, who have just assembled in convention for two days in Montgomery.

Women attending were not only some of the most prominent leaders of the state in club work, and other organizations, but a great band of women affiliated with missionary societies of churches throughout Alabama were present.

Formal Report Made.

The following is the report of the findings committee and the organization work in full:

"In organizing the woman's section of the Alabama state committee on inter-racial co-operation, at the invitation of the state committee, we are moved by a sense of responsibility in sharing in the solution of this great world problem.

"We recognize the fact that the late war intensified racial feeling throughout the world, that our strateg position in the center of a tense racial situation in America lays upon us an unusual opportunity of demonstrating methods of racial adjustment.

"In the world today there is a widespread disregard for both moral and civil law. Crime waves are engulfing all nations; social unrest is seething among the masses and moral issues are being obscured.

"Therefore, we hasten to declare ourselves for the enforcement of the laws of our state and nation, through the duly constituted officials who are known and are responsible for their acts.

"We believe that a speedy administration of the law will tend to discourage criminality on the part of law violators and will encourage an indifferent citizenship to create and support a public sentiment for the upholding of law and order.

"It is inconceivable to us that mob violence is possible within our government, and that groups of individuals can usurp the power of properly constituted authority.

"We protest—

"1. Against all mob violence by any race for any crime.

"2. Against the claim that lynching is necessary for the protection of white womanhood.

"3. Against a duble standard of morals which tends toward amalgamation of the races and threatens racial integrity.

"We pledge ourselves uncompromisingly for a single standard of morals for all, and to this end we call to the manhood of our own race to join with us in a crusade for the protection of the womanhood of both races.

"We pledge ourselves to endeavor to create a public sentiment which will establish justice and righteousness in our own state for every human being of whatever race or nationality.

ALABAMA WOMEN MAKE PLANS FOR INTER-RACIAL WORK

The New York World 10/9/21

Want a Better Understanding Between the White and Colored Races—Efforts to Uphold the Law in All Places.

WILL ATTEMPT TO PUT DOWN ALL LYNCHING.

Think the Racial Integrity of Both Should Be Preserved—Old Problem Is Put to the Public in a New Way.

(Special to The World.)

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Oct. 8.—The Alabama Women's Committee on

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

ALABAMA WOMEN PLAN FOR IMPROVEMENT OF NEGRO RACE

9-29-21 Advertiser

Gathering of Two Hundred Women From Over State Endorse Resolutions on Inter-Racial Problems; Mob Law and Lynching Is Condemned

Women of Alabama began active work looking to the solution of the racial problem in the state, and the South, at a meeting held at the First Presbyterian church Wednesday. At this meeting, attended by some 200 representative women of the state, a report of the Alabama Women's State Committee on Inter-Racial Cooperation, was endorsed unanimously.

The report protests against mob violence and lynching, and against the double standard of morals, which "threatens racial integrity."

Committees were appointed to investigate different phases of negro life in Alabama, including the negro home, the church, and the school. These committees will cooperate with the women leaders of the negro race.

The meeting at the First Presbyterian church was attended by representatives of the women's missionary organizations from various sections of Alabama, from the various Protestant denominations. The Alabama Women's State Committee on Inter-Racial Cooperation met on Tuesday at the Exchange Hotel and its recommendations drawn up in a report received the full endorsement of the meeting Wednesday, where some 200 women pledged their support to the work.

The object of the women who gathered at this meeting was explained as being to insure justice before the law, education, and better conditions of health and sanitation for the negro of the state and the South, and for economic betterment which will enable the negro to make a living for himself and those dependent upon him. The fact was emphasized by those in attendance at the meeting that its aims are in no sense political; that it does not advocate social equality or the repeal of the "Jim Crow" laws, or any similar form of agitation.

Instead the aims of the inter-racial movement, as set forth by leaders, are to deal with the negroes of Alabama in a spirit of christian charity; with the view that white superiority carries with it certain obligations to the inferior race which should be met in a spirit of Christian helpfulness and goodwill.

Some of the most prominent women of Alabama, including many well known workers for social and general public welfare, were among those who drew up the report which was adopted at the meeting Wednesday. The full text of this report follows:

"In organizing the Woman's Section of the Alabama State Committee on Inter-racial Co-operation, at the invitation of the State committee, we are moved by a sense of responsibility in sharing in the solution of this great world problem.

"We recognize the fact that the late war intensified racial feeling throughout the world; that our strategic position in the center of a tense racial situation in America lays upon us an unusual opportunity of demonstrating methods of racial adjustment.

"In the world today there is a widespread disregard for both moral and civil law. Crime waves are engulfing all nations; social unrest is seething among the masses and moral issues are being obscured.

"Therefore, we hasten to declare ourselves for the enforcement of the laws of our state and nation, through the duly constituted officials, who are known and are responsible for their acts.

"We believe that a speedy administration of the law will tend to discourage criminality on the part of law violators and will encourage an indifferent citizenship to create and support a public sentiment for the upholding of law and order.

"It is inconceivable to us that mob violence is possible within our government and that groups of individuals can usurp the power of properly constituted authority.

"We protest:

"1. Against all mob violence by any race for any crime.

"2. Against the claim that lynching is necessary for the protection of white womanhood.

"3. Against a double standard of morals which tends toward amalgamation of the races and threatens racial integrity.

"We pledge ourselves uncompromisingly for a single standard of morals for all, and to this end we call to the manhood of our own race to join with us in a crusade for the protection of the womanhood of both races.

"We pledge urselves to endeavor to create a public sentiment, which will establish justice and righteousness in our state for every human being of whatever race or nationality.

"Therefore we recommend:

"1. That the Woman's Section of the Alabama State Committee on Inter-Racial Relations organize itself for study and investigation of these matters, in order that we may share in the activities of the state committee.

"We further recommend the apointment of a chairman, vice-chairman and secretary of Woman's Section of the state committee, also the appointment of the followng sub-committees:

"1. A committee on the negro homes.

"2. A committee on the negro church.

"3. A committee on the negro school.

"4. An executive committee, which shall consist of the chairman, vice-chairman and secretary, the chairman of each of the three committees and two other members.

"That these committees cooperate with the women leaders of the negro race in these different lines of work, in an effort to get the facts as they are, and together find a basis of cooperation which will make for the common good of all."

The report bears the signature of the members of the Alabama Women's State Committee on Inter-Racial Cooperation as follows: Mrs. Charles J. Sharpe, Birmingham, chairman; Mrs. R. L. Hobdy, Union Springs, vice-chairman; Mrs. Oscar Reinhart, Birmingham, secretary; Mrs. L. B. Bush, Montgomery; Mrs. J. G. Snedecor, Tuscaloosa; Mrs. W. E. Hinds, Auburn; Mrs. T. M. Francis, Montgomery; Mrs. J. H. Cranford, Jasper; Mrs. John D. Elliott, Birmingham; Mrs. William H. Samford, Montgomery; Mrs. Charles Henderson, Troy; Miss Elizabeth Fonde Mobile; Mrs. J. F. Hooper, Selma; Mrs. C. P. Orr, Birmingham; Mrs. C. A. Stakely, Montogmery; Mrs. C. R. Bricken, Montgomery; Mrs. W. J. Hannah, Montgomery and Mrs. C. K. Snelling, Montgomery.

The following committees have been named to carry on the work begun at the meeting Wednesday: Executive committee, Mrs. C. J. Sharpe, Mrs. R. L. Hobdy, Mrs. L. B. Bush, Mrs. C. P. Orr, Miss Elizabeth Fonde, Mrs. Charles Henderson and Mrs. Oscar Reinhart.

Committee on the negro home: Mrs. L. B. Bush, Mrs. C. A. Stakely, Mrs. W. E. Hinds, Mrs. C. P. Orr and Mrs. W. J Hannah

Committee on the negro church: Mrs. C. P. Orr, Mrs. J. G. Snedecor, Mrs. W. H. Samford, Mrs. Oscar Reinhart and Mrs. J. F. Hooper.

Committee on the negro school: Miss Elizabeth Fonde, Mrs. C. R. Bricken, Mrs. C. K. Snelling.

It was announced that these various committees at the end of several months will report their findings, at a meeting to be announced later.

One of the prime purposes of the meeting was given as that of creating a sentiment calculated to promote relations between the races. In this connection the members of the various women's missionary organizations who endorse the report of the committee as given above will co-operate through their respective channels, in their various communities to create the desired public sentiment.

Inter-Racial Co-operation, composed of outstanding women from all sections of the State who are interested in inter-racial problems, have set forth their plans in the following summary:

To work for a better understanding between the white and negro races.

To see that the law is upheld to the letter.

To put down lynching.

To make an intimate study of racial matters which confront the South and which are of vital interest to both races.

To make an intimate study of negro homes, churches and schools in co-operation with the women leaders of the negro race for the common good of all.

To preserve the racial integrity of both races.

Thus the old racial question is being put up to the public in a new way. The question, "Are you interested in the common good of both the white and the negro races?" is being advanced by an organization of 200 women, who have just assembled at Montgomery and perfected their organization. Resolutions adopted and work accomplished at the initial meeting are attracting attention throughout the Nation. For the first time white women of a Southern State have banded themselves together for the purpose of "furthering the interests of all."

Mrs. Charles J. Sharpe of Birmingham is the Chairman of the committee, with Mrs. R. L. Hobdy of Montgomery Vice Chairman, and Mrs. Oscar Reinhart of Birmingham, Secretary. The resolutions adopted are considered remarkable, in that they are the first definite expression by Southern women on the question of race. The report of the Findings Committee follows:

Moved by a Sense of Responsibility.

"In organizing the woman's section of the Alabama State Committee on Inter-Racial Co-operation, we are moved by a sense of responsibility in sharing in the solution of this great world problem.

"We recognize the fact that the late war intensified racial feeling throughout the world; that our strategic position in the centre of a tense racial situation in America lays upon us an unusual opportunity of demonstrating methods of racial adjustment.

"In the world to-day there is a widespread disregard for both moral and civil law. Crime waves are engulfing all nations; social unrest is seething among the masses and moral issues are being obscured.

"Therefore, we hasten to declare ourselves for the enforcement of the laws of our State and Nation, through the duly constituted officials who are known and are responsible for their acts.

"We believe that a speedy administration of the law will tend to discourage criminality on the part of law violators, and will encourage an indifferent citizenship to create and support a public sentiment for the upholding of law and order.

"It is inconceivable to us that mob violence is possible within our Government, and that groups of individuals can usurp the power of properly constituted authority. We protest:

"1. Against all mob violence by any race for any crime.

"2. Against the claim that lynching is necessary for the protection of white womanhood.

"3. Against the double standard of morals which tends toward amalgamation of the races and threatens racial integrity.

"We pledge ourselves uncompromisingly for a single standard of morals for all, and to this end we call to the manhood of our own race to join with us in a crusade for the protection of the womanhood of both races.

"We pledge ourselves to endeavor to create a public sentiment, which will establish justice and righteousness in our State for every human being of whatever race or nationality.

"Therefore we recommend that the women's section of the Alabama State Committee on Inter-Racial Relations organize itself for study and investigation of these matters in order that we may share in the activities of the State Committee.

"We further recommend the appointment of a Chairman, Vice Chairman and Secretary of the Woman's Section of the State Committee; also the appointment of the following sub-committees:

"1. A committee on the negro homes.

"2. A committee on the negro church.

"3. A committee on the negro school.

"4. An Executive Committee, which shall consist of the Chairman, Vice Chairman and Secretary, the Chairman of each of the three committees, and two other members.

"That these committees co-operate with the women leaders of the negro race in these different lines of work in an effort to get the facts as they are, and together find a basis of co-operation which will make for the common good of all."

South Carolina

Race Relations

Meetings

RACE CONFERENCE MEETS IN COLUMBIA FEB. 16th. & 17th.

Standard (Columbia S.C.) 1/28/21

The 17th. annual session of the South Carolina Race Conference will coinvene in Columbia Feb. 16th. & 17th.. All agencies and forces will be united to make the 1921 Race Conference a success. Let every organization in South Carolina that hipes to become Statewide, hold its annual meeting in Columbia at the time the Conference meets... The Race Conference prigram will be broad enough to cover every phase of racial development. The program will be published later. Let every preacher, teacher, farmer and leader in every part if the State use his or her influence toward helping to carry the news of this great Conference to the people so that we may assemble and give lrst hand information upin the subject that is so much needed at this particular time in our racial development.

(Signed)
I. S. Leevy, Chairman,
Mrs. L. F. Holmes, Vice Chr.
T. L. Duckett, Secty.,
L. B. Woids, Treas.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Race Relation Meetings

Tennessee

WOMEN PLAN INTER-RACIAL CO-OPERATION

A plan for local co-operation between white and colored women has just been put out by the Continuation Committee of the recent Memphis conference of Southern white women. This committee, composed of members of all white churches in the South, the Y. W. C. A., and women's clubs, asks each general and national organization to authorize in its local societies a committee of three women on local inter-racial work. These committees are to confer with leading colored women of the community, and to direct their own societies in a study of local conditions as regards Negro housing, sanitation, and the needs of Negro women and children. They shall also lead their local organizations in a study of Negro contributions to literature, music and art, that there may be a better understanding of the Negro's contribution to American life along these lines, so little known in the average Southern community. They are to co-operate with white and colored agencies for community betterment, uniting with the other local white women's committees, and with the men's inter-racial committee, constituting in the latter a special committee on women's activities.

The state inter-racial committees, now organized throughout the South, are already open to women, as are the hundreds of county committees now in operation. This plan carries co-operation in to the place most needing it—the local community. It also opens a channel for the expression of the growing desire among Southern white women to work out in daily life those standards of health, morality and justice which cannot be neglected for either race without imperiling the homes of both.

The achievement of inter-racial confidence and mutual good-will is the greatest opportunity now confronting the South, whether viewed from the industrial, the agricultural, or the religious standpoint. The accession of women to the ranks of the general, state, county and local inter-racial committees will hasten the accomplishment of this desired end.

Prominent Inter-Racial Workers To Speak Here

East-Tennessee News 4/19/21

Local members of the Knox County Inter-Racial Committee have bee nmailed notices announcing the meeting to be held at the Carnegie Library on Monday afternoon, April 18th at 2:30 o'clock, at which time Mr. Waafter, one of the national secretaries in charge of the white inter-racial work; Secretary J. D. Burton, of the white inter-racial committee, and Secretary R. E. Clay, of the Colored inter-racial committee, for Tennessee, will be in attendance and address the meeting, outlining the work that has been accomplished during the past year and present a program for future work.

The many excellent accomplishments of the organization known as the inter-racial committee, practically all of which have effected the best interests of the Negro, should stimulate inteerst on the part of the local citizenship. All of the members of the committee are urgently requested to respond to the summons to attend the meeting which will begin promptly at 3 o'clock on Monday.

Joint Meeting Tuesday.

A joint meeting of the white and colored committees will be held at a place to be named later, on Tuesday afternoon, April 19th.

INTER-RACIAL COMMITTEE HOLDS MEETING

Nashville Globe 4/29/21

Cleveland, Tenn., April 25.—(Special to the Nashville Globe)—A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Inter-racial League was held at Shepherd hall Wednesday evening, April 25, 1921, at 8 p. m. Mr. Jacob Smith presided over the meeting.

The meeting was held in order that the members might become better acquainted with the nature of the work which it hopes to accomplish through the organization. Dr. T. J. Woofter, of Atlanta, Ga., Southern secretary of the league, which is itself a southern organization, delivered the address. He is a young man of fine ability and holds an important position in one of the biggest benevolences in America. Dr. Woofter impressed those who heard him as being a practical and earnest worker of the Inter-racial League. In his closing remarks he showed also the high importance of a better understanding and co-operation between the two races. He pointed out the five lines of activity of the league, namely, industrial, educational, sanitation, health and religion. Dr. Woofter's address was listened to with a deal of interest. Splendid remarks were made by several members of the committee from both races.

Dr. Robt. E. Clay of Bristol, Tenn., was introduced to the audience by the chairman, who made the principal address. Subject, "The Negro is Thinking Something." The address was carefully prepared and well delivered and enjoyed by all. Dr. Clay is a forcible speaker and is destined to do much among his people. The Inter-racial League has a bright future in Cleveland.

Members on the Committee (white) Mr. Geo. Harris, Bethel Brown, Jacob Smith, Walter Franklin, J. K. Marshall; (colored), H. Mace, Dr. T. E. Stevens, J. J. Shepherd, C. A. Rogers, Prof. U. S. Kox, Rev. J. M. Ervin, Rev. W. H. Joyner, L. J. Green, James Beny, C. H. Harwick, and J. T. Gilmore.

MEMPHIS TENN APPEAL
MAY 1, 1921

GRIGGS GETS RECRUITS.

Chicago Negroes Indorse Policies of Memphis Race Leader.

Dr. Sutton E. Griggs returned to the city yesterday after a stay of about 30 days in northern cities, acquainting members of his race with his policies for the betterment of the condition of the colored people of the south, and outlining his philosophy of racial advancement. He also investigated the condition of his race in the north and the methods being employed to meet the problems that have arisen. He visited Chicago, Omaha, Lincoln and Kansas City.

At a mass meeting held in Chicago in Olivet Baptist Church, with a membership of more than 9,000, said to be the largest colored church in the world, the following resolutions were adopted:

"Whereas, the present status of the negro in America demands deep and scientific thinking, and

"Whereas, it is imperative that we have well prepared men to present our cause at the bar of public opinion, and

"Whereas, in our judgment we have such a man in the person of Rev. Dr. Sutton E. Griggs, therefore be it

"Resolved, that we, the members in mass meeting assembled, commit ourselves to his way of thinking and his programme, and put ourselves on record as standing ready to accord him our support in every way needed for the advancement of his noble work."

A movement is in process of formation in Chicago for the purpose of enabling Dr. Griggs to more effectively put his views before the members of his race in all parts of the country.

East-Tennessee News 7/13/21

Special to The News.

Nashville, Tenn., July 12.—The first day of the two day's session of the Tennessee Inter-racial Committee which is meeting at the A. and M. State Normal was filled with interesting events. The sessions began at 11 o'clock in the school chapel that was filled to capacity with representatives from every county in Tennessee. Executive Secretary Robert E. Clay, of the Colored committee, presided at the opening program and following short addresses delivered by Prof. M. L. Morrison, of Dyersburg; J. T. Bridgeforth, of Pulaski; W. C. Hixon and Dr. L. L. Patten, of Chattanooga; W. L. Porter, of Knoxville, and Dr. R. B. McArthur, of Bristol; in which they told of the excellent work of the inter-racial league in their respective counties, president W. J. Hale, of the league, was presented and in turn introduced Governor A. H. Taylor. In his introductory remarks President Hale referred to the great interest that Governor Taylor has manifested in the affais of the entire citizenship during the few months of his administration. "Governor Taylor has seen to it that the Negro Normals got their share of the funds provided by the state for education and he has also been active along other lines," said President Hale. "It was at Gallatin, only a few weeks ago that Gov. Taylor set the minds of the people right as to his position on law enforcement, when he dispatched sufficient numbers of men there to protect the lives of three Negro prisoners. The Negroes were rescued from a mob and landed safely in a Nashville jail, relieving the state of the stain of another lynching."

Amind applause that lasted long Governor Taylor arose and in his usual eloquent manner he outlined his actions in having Adjutant General Brummitt send the state guards to Gallatin to rescue the prisoners and told of his inclination to see to it that laws were enforced in the state by the proper authorities.

Following Governor Taylor's speech, Prof. Jones recently elected president of the Middle Tennessee Normal at Murfreesboro; Supt. J. B. Brown, of Education for Tennessee; Hon. A. B. Richardson, secretary of the State Young Men's Christian Association; Mr. J. D. Burton, white inter-racial secretary, and Mr. Barnard, were presented to the audience and made short addresses.

Musical selections rendered by a quartette composed of Miss Callie Apple, Mrs. M. M. Brown, Messrs. B. M. Younge and G. W. Senter, and the chorus singing under the direction of Mrs. M. M. Brown, accompanied by Miss Willard Cansler, of Knoxville, were features of the morning exercises.

The afternoon session was devoted to committee meetings and the committee on resolutions of which Prof. J. H. Byers, of Johnson City, was chairman, formulated strong resolutions denouncing lawlessness and praising officials of the state who took bold stands to see that laws are enforced.

The principal addresses on Wednesday's session will be delivered by Secretary A. B. Richardson, of the State Y. M. C. A., and Secretary J. D. Burton, of the inter-racial league.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

GOV. ADDESSES LEAGUE

7/15/21
Nashville Globe

TENNESSEE STATE INTER-RACIAL CONFERENCE HOLD SESSION

PRESIDENT W. J. HALE PRESIDE OVER BODY—SOLUTION TO IMPORTANT SUBJECTS OFFERED.

Better understanding between the races; better living and housing conditions; and better educational facilities, were some of the many features advanced at the Inter-racial Congress, which held a two days' session out at the A. & I. State Normal this week.

The meeting was called to order by Prof. W. J. Hale, the President, while the call for the meeting was read by Mr. Robt. E. Clay of Bristol, Tenn. President Hale delivered the opening address in the presence of a magnificent audience composed of visitors and members coming from every section of the state. One of the features of the first day's session was the able address delivered by His Excellency, Governor Alf Taylor, who was introduced by President Hale, and who welcomed the members of the Inter-racial League on behalf of the state. The Governor paid high tribute to the work of the League, and gave special attention to the personnel of the organization, with the scope of work outlined to be done. After the welcomes were over and the League got down to actual work, Mr. R. E. Clay, the executive secretary ,took charge and presided at the opening sesion. He presented Miss M. L. Morrison of Dyersburg, Mr. J. T. Bridgeforth of Pulaski, Drfl L. L. Patton of Chattanooga, Mr. W. L. Porter, Editor of the East Tennessee News, of Knoxville, Dr. R. B. McArthur, a practicing physician of Bristol, all of whom delivered short addresses, pledging themselves to the work of the organization. Among the others who delivered addresses during the two days' session were Mr. J. D. Brown, state superintendent of education, Mr. R. L .Jones, president of the Middle Tennessee State Normal, Mr. A. B. Richardson, state secretary of the Y. M. C. A., Mr. J. D. Burton and Prof. Barnard. It was estimated that more than one thousand visitors were at the opening, each of whom paid the highest possible tribute to the far-reaching effect of the work of the organization. The following were the officers for the year just closed:

President, W. J. Hale, Nashville; Executive Secretary, R. E. Clay, Bristol; Recording Secretary, J. F. Lane, Jackson; Treasurer, B. M. Roddy, Memphis; Publicity Director, W. L. Porter, Knoxville; Publicity Director, H. A. Boyd, Nashville; Musical Director, Mrs. M. M. Brown, Nashville; vice presidents: W. C. Hixson, Chattanooga, J. T. Bridgeforth, Pulaski, Prof. T. J. Johnson, Woodstock, Dr. R. B. McArthur, Bristol, Dr. S. L. Cunningham, Union City.

NASHVILLE EVE. TENNESSEAN
JULY 11, 1921

REPORT TUESDAY ON INTER-RACIAL WORK

Reports of the county delegates on the inter-racial work done in their counties, together with a number of speakers, will feature the second annual meeting of the State Colored Inter-racial League of Tennessee at the A. & I. State Normal here tomorrow and Wednesday.

Among the principal speakers will be Gov. Alf Taylor, State Superintendent of Schools J. B. Brown, Prof. T. L. Smith, Dr. T. O. Fuller of Memphis, A. B. Richardson, State Y. M. C. A. secretary and J. D. Burton, state director of inter-racial work of Tennessee. Various county delegates will make their annual report.

There will be a special musical program.

NASHVILLE TENN BANNER
JULY 11, 1921

INTER-RACIAL LEAGUE OF Y. M. C. A. MEETS HERE

The Inter-racial League, a department of the Tennessee State Y. M. C. A., will hold a two-day session in this city at the Tennessee A. and I. Normal, opening Tuesday. Gov. Alf Taylor, State Superintendent of Education J. B. Brown, Dr. T. O. Fuller of Memphis and A. B. Richardson of the state association are among the speakers scheduled. J. D. Burton in charge of the colored work of the state "Y," and R. F. Clay, colored secretary on inter-racial relations, will be present.

The delegates in attendance will be the Negro workers, and they will represent the various counties and give reports as to the activities in the different sections.

Council On Race Relations Adopts Program of Action

New York Age 7/23/21

Works to Promote Mutual Confidence Between Races, Especially Among the Churches---Sentiment Against Mobs

(Special to THE NEW YORK AGE)

Washington, D. C.—The recent riot in Tulsa, Okla., the reported activities of the Ku Klux Klan, and the disclosures concerning Negro peonage give timeliness to the creation of a new Commission on Negro Churches and Race Relations by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. The purpose of this action is to consolidate the influence of the churches in bringing about better relations between the races.

The first meeting of the new Commission was held in Washington, D. C., on Wednesday, July 13th, under the chairmanship of John J. Eagan of Atlanta who is president of The Atlanta Council of hurches. A vice-chairman is to be named from the Negro churches. The Commission is made up of about one hundred representatives of the white and colored churches, the majority being residents of the South.

Outlining the Program.

The following statement was adopted as expressing the general program of work for the Commission.

(1) To assert the sufficiency of the Christian solution of race relations in America and the duty of the churches and all their organizations to give the most careful attention to this question.

(2) To provide a central clearing house and meeting place for the churches and for all Christian agencies dealing with the relation of the white and Negro races, and to encourage and support their activities along this line.

(3) To promote mutual confidence and acquaintance, both nationally and locally, between the white and Negro churches, especially by State and local conferences between white and Negro ministers, Chirstian educators, and other leaders, for the consideration of their common problems.

(4) To array the sentiment of the Christian churches against mob violence and to enlist their thoroughgoing support in a special program of education on the subject for a period of at least five years.

(5) To secure and distribute accurate knowledge of the facts regarding racial relations and racial attitudes in general and regarding particular situations that may be under discussion from time to time.

(6) To develop a public conscience which will secure to the Negro equitable provision for education, health, housing, recreation and all other aspects of community welfare.

(7) To make more widely known in the churches the work and principles of the Commission on Inter-Racial Cooperation, and especially to support its efforts to establish local inter-racial committees.

(8) To secure the presentation of the problem of race relations and of the Christian solution by white and Negro speakers at as many church gatherings as possible throughout the coun-

"RACE RELATIONS" COURSE ADDED TO PEABODY COLLEGE

Baltimore Herald 7/24/21

The George Peabody College for Teachers in Nashville, Tenn., has recently added to its faculty a Professor of Race Relations in the person of Mr. R. H. Leavell of Mississippi, whose study for the government of causes of the Negro migration attracted much attention during the war.

Mr. Leavell's appointment to this unique professorship, the grst of its kind in the United States, has been made possible through the far-sightedness of a little knot of Christian businss men in Tennessee and in Texas. They especially desired to have courses offered at the college which would make the teachers there trained "aware of the Negro population as a part of the community," and to show these students how to handle those community problems which cut across racial lines.

Mr. Leavell makes personal studies of communitise which are dealing successfully with any phase of bi-racial life, hygienic, economic, or moral, as well as of the beneficial results to both races of such methods. These first-hand facts are used in his lectures, which are drawing an increasing number of students of a fine type of both sexes. One student is a young woman who wishes to fit herself to return to her brother's large plantation and develop Christian adjustments between the races in a country community with a large Negro population.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Race Relations

Meetings

New York

RECONCILIATION MOVEMENT

PANACEA FOR UNREST

Favorite Feb. 1921

TODAY in the State of New York many are the encouraging signs that a better day dawns for the manhood rights of the colored people of this country. Recently in New York City Mrs. Margaret Deland, the authoress, delivered an address before the New York Hampton Association at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Curtis James, 39 East Sixty-ninth street. In her address she said: "This country today is surrounded by industrial unrest at home, by unsettled Europe, and, most of all, by the consequences of what our predecessors did to millions of the black population." Her audience was composed of men and women of prominence in society who are helping in the development of the Hampton Association. Continuing Mrs. Deland traced the change from one of academic interest to that of spirited enthusiasm in the welfare of the Negro, and said: "I have had ten months of most uncomfortable reflection upon what has been called the Negro problem—ten months of knowing that I did not know anything about its solution by Hampton's method, or the possibility of another solution being tried in Russia today; ten months of realization that the black people will ultimately endeavor to solve the problem by one method or another, to solve it by either orderly intelligence or disorderly ignorance."

As a true American Mrs. Deland concluded her remarks by saying: "We look out and see these consequences. We see these colored people needing education, the ideal of citizenship; needing industrial opportunity, and requiring mental and moral enlightenment. It scares us, of course, but it would scare us more if Hampton Institute and a whole battalion of schools for the colored people did not stand between us and the guns of consequences."

We fully concur with Mrs. Deland in most of her deductions on this so-called race problem, but we hardly think that it will ever be solved by disorderly ignorance, for such institutions of education as Tuskegee, Hampton, Howard, Fisk, Atlanta and other minor institutions of learning will always act as a buffer to prevent trying to solve this problem by disorderly ignorance.

There should be no such thing as a race problem. In fact, there is no race problem. What seems to be a race problem is only a supposition rooted and grounded in the human consciousness through an erroneous concept of God that He in His great wisdom made one man to enslave and oppress the other.

What the world needs is that the races should know each other better. This can only be brought about as the Man, the gentle Nazarine, so often and distinctly said, by Love. We have tried war to settle race problems since the days of Adam; now let us try Reconciliation. It would be a perfect and complete reconciliation where everyone would shake the hand of his neighbor, not caring a rap whether he be Jew or Gentile, white or black or yellow.

The Reconciliation Movement that had its birth in the City of New York is founded exactly along these lines. They contend that since war, strife and hatred will not reconcile the races, that the practice and teaching of love is now the only panacea.

This idea is being sowed and is taking root and springing up in the minds of the people generally throughout the country. JAMES H. MOODY.

PROF. JOHN M. GANDY SPEAKS IN BALTIMORE

New York Dispatch

Professor John M. Gandy, president of the Virginia Normal and Industrial Institute, Petersburg, Va., delivered the closing address of a series of inter-racial conferences held in this city Sunday afternoon, at 3 o'clock, in the Mount Vernon Place Methodist Church. Mr. Gandy spoke on "What the Negro Wants." After spending a few minutes in his introductory remarks telling what the Negro does not want, he then outlined in a careful way and in no unmistakable terms the things that the Negroe does want.

He stated that the Negro wants courteous treatment from the white public in points of contact, equal school advantages for the education of his children, the abolition of the Jim Crow car in the South, and the right to vote.

A large and representative audience of both white and colored people was present. The point of view of the speaker was well received.

CHURCH COUNCIL MOVES TO CHECK RACE WAR IN U. S.

Consolidation of All Denominations to Influence Better Relations Sought in Program.

N Y C CALL
JULY 15, 1921

COMMISSION FORMED

New Body Will "Assert Sufficiency of Christian Solution" to Negro Problem as Clearing House.

With the expressed purpose of consolidating the influence of the churches in bringing about better relations between the white and the colored races in this country, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America has created a new Commission on Negro Churches and Race Relations, it was announced yesterday at the information department of the council, 105 East 22d street.

The announcement was made in the form of a statement, which pointed out that the creation of this commission is given special timeliness by the recent riot in Tulsa, Okla., the reported activities of the Ku Klux Klan, and the disclosures concerning Negro peonage in certain states of the South.

The new commission is made up of about 100 leading representatives of the white and colored churches, the majority being residents of the South. A vice chairman is to be named from the Negro churches.

At a preliminary meeting held in Washington, D. C., on July 12, under the chairmanship of John J. Eagan, of Atlanta, Ga., who is president of the Atlanta Council of Churches, the day was spent in discussing the objects of the commission.

The meeting was agreed that the church, "being committed to the principle that humanity is an organism, cannot accept as a satisfactory solution the theory that inter-racial conflict is inevitable, or that the races should be segregated from each other, or that they should be amalgamated, or that any one race is meant to have special privileges which are to be denied to others. The Christian solution, it was clearly seen, lies in the races living together in mutual helpfulness, service and goodwill."

Program Drawn Up.

As a result of the discussion the following statement was unanimously adopted as expressing the general program of work for the commission:

"1. To assert the sufficiency of the Christian solution of race relations in America and the duty of the churches and all their organizations to give the most careful attention to this question.

"2. To provide a central clearing house and meeting place for the churches and for all Christian agencies dealing with the relation of the white and Negro races, and to encourage and support their activities along this line.

"3. To promote mutual confidence and acquaintance, both nationally and locally, between the white and Negro churches, especially by state and local conferences between white and Negro ministers, Christian educators and other leaders, for the consideration of their common problems.

"4. To array the sentiment of the Christian churches against mob violence and to enlist their thoroughgoing support in a special program of education on the subject for a period of at least five years.

Distribution of Knowledge.

"5. To secure and distribute accurate knowledge of the facts regarding racial questions and racial attitudes in general, and regarding particular situations that may be under discussion from time to time.

"6. To develop a public conscience which will secure to the Negro equitable provision for education, health, housing, recreation and all other aspects of community welfare.

"7. To make more widely known in the churches the work and principles of the Commission on Inter-Racial Cooperation, and especially to support its efforts to establish local inter-racial committees.

"8. To secure the presentation of the problem of race relations and of the Christian solution by white and Negro speakers at as many church gatherings as possible throughout the country."

The Commission on Inter-Racial Cooperation, to which reference is made in paragraph 7 of the above statement, is a voluntary group of individuals, both white and colored, in the South, who have been co-operating in developing inter-racial committees in local communities for the purpose of promoting goodwill between the races. The Federal council's new commission has as one of its definite aims the strengthening of the influence of the churches in support of this movement.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Race Relations

Meetings

New Jersey

JERSEY CITY N J JOURNAL
JANUARY 15, 1921

INTER-RACIAL COMMISSION WORK HERE

An agitation for the appointment of an inter-racial commission for the settlement of differences between whites and negroes has been started by the Citizens' League of Hudson County, one of the leading colored Republican organizations in the State. The enrolled membership of the League and affiliated organizations exceeds 500.

The movement to obtain the appointment of the commissions is being directed by the Welfare Committee of the league, which is headed by Dr. William A. Byrd. The committee plans to request the Governor and the Mayors to appoint commissions which will include representatives of both races and have as its duties the discussion and adjustment of racial difficulties. It has been suggested that the commissions be composed of three whites and two negroes.

At the last meeting of the Executive Committee of the League, the Young Men's Progressive Citizens' League of Jersey City, which was organized in the Third Ward recently, was recognized and made part of the League. The president of the Third Ward organization, Rev. J. H. Hartley, was elected a member of the Executive Committee of the larger body. The Third Ward organization is the second outside body to become part of the county league in the past six months. The other is the Citizen's League of Bayonne, of which C. W. Mulford is president.

Dr. G. Warren Hooper, chairman of the County League, and Mr. Mulford, of the Bayonne branch, have been appointed members of the Republican County Executive Committee, by County Chairman Pierre P. Garven. Dr. Hooper is also a member of the City Republican Committee and will have an active share in the City Commission election in the spring.

James A. Granger, second vice-president of the league, has received appointment as file clerk at Trenton for the present legislative session. His appointment had been recommended by the league.

Brooklyn Pastor, Before Urban League, Declares Hostility to White Men Unavailing.

Officers Review Year's Service

NEWARK N J EVE NEWS
JANUARY 18, 1921

How as a boy he stood in the kitchen of his home and watched the elders of his family and their guests seated at the dining room table eating chicken was told last night by Rev. H. H. Proctor of Brooklyn, at the annual meeting of the Urban League for Social Service Among the Negroes in the Bethany Baptist Church.

His experience, he went on, is typical of that of the colored race, which long has stood in the kitchen of the world and watched the other races seated about the table of opportunity.

The race has taken three steps toward the table, he said—the first through agitation, the second through emancipation and the third through education. The fourth step, he declared, must be co-operation. Referring to the fact that by far the greater portion of the expenses of the league are borne by white men, he said it was apparent that the negroes were not doing their part. He stated it was time for the race to do better in a community where the white people had shown such willingness to co-operate.

"The white man loves fair play," he declared. "When this country won its independence the white man's conscience wasn't fully satisfied, so he began agitation to free the negroes." The next movement forward, he asserted, came when Lincoln "dipped his pen in the blood of his heart and signed the Emancipation Proclamation." Then came education for the negro, with the result that practically eighty per cent. of the race in this country read and write.

In each of the wars in which this country engaged he stated that negroes played their part and after each, found themselves advanced.

"Will not something of good come out of the World War?" he asked.

Deprecates Animosity.

He deprecated Ku Klux Klan and lynching mobs, and said both would be put in the minority if the negroes would co-operate with the white race.

"To flay the white man doesn't get you anything. We've got to work together. America is bound to be democratic, and let us make it so together," he urged.

Augustus V. Hamburg, who was the league's first president, told of what had been accomplished in the four years of its existence.

"You are a valuable asset to our community," he said. "Support your organization and let it be known that this league is to be a greater power in this community. Be proud of your people. The colored race has a wonderful record. Show yourselves worthy of all the support the broadminded people of Newark can give you."

Carl Bannwart, who presided, said the league's work was deserving of the support of all races, and declared that the organization had functioned smoothly in taking care of the influx of Southern negroes to this city during the industrial boom of war days.

A comprehensive statement of the league's work during the year was contained in the annual report of William M. Ashby, secretary.

Among accomplishments were the following: Placement of 1,685 persons in positions, procurement of employment in eight factories or departments in which negroes had never been employed, assistance in settling industrial difficulties which had arisen or were imminent in five instances.

In rehabilitation work the cases of 246 families were handled, 362 visits were made in the interests of these cases, sixty-two conferences were held, twenty-eight families were moved to better homes, 163 letters were written, seven telegrams sent and in seven cases church connections were established.

Some Benefits Conferred.

Institutional care was provided in seventeen cases, medical care in twenty-five, relatives and friends were found in fourteen, material aid was given in seven, schools were found for three, legal aid for two and domestic troubles were ameliorated in fourteen cases. One girl is having her tuition paid at a boarding school by a person interested through the league. Lodging was found for 117 persons. Thrift among the race is being promoted by a building and loan association.

Arrangements for a week's fresh air outing for 113 children at Camp Newark were made and recitals and varied entertainments were given. The demand continued throughout the year for dormitory accommodations, which are looked after by the Phyllis Wheatley Home Committee.

Receipts for the year totaled $8,358.41 and disbursements were $7,836.47, leaving a balance on January 1 of $189.44. At last night's meeting $109 was contributed.

The assemblage was called upon to turn out on February 12, when the league plans a celebration in memory of Abraham Lincoln. Senator Runyon will be one of the speakers.

CHRISTIAN SOLUTION OF SOUTHERN RACE PROBLEM IS SOUGHT BY CHURCHES

Commission Created to Consolidate Influences in the Bringing About of Better Relationship — A Statement Embodying Program Is Unanimously Adopted —Catholic University Has Acquired Great Library.

HOBOKEN N J OBSERVER
JULY 22, 1921

EXODUS OF MINISTERS TO EUROPE HAS BEGUN

The recent riot in Tulsa, Oklahoma, the reported activities of the Ku-Klux Klan, and the disclosures concerning negro peonage give a special timeliness to the creation of a new Commission on Negro Church and Race Relations by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. The purpose of this action is to consolidate the influence of the churches in bringing about better relations between the white and colored races in this country.

The first meeting of the new commission, composed of some one hundred leading representatives of the white and colored churches, the majority being residents of the South, was held in Washington, July 12 under the chairmanship of John J. Eagan, of Atlanta, Georgia, president of the Atlanta Council of Churches and one of the leading Christian laymen in the South. A vice-chairman is to be named from the negro churches.

At the initial meeting it was agreed that the church, being committed to the principle that humanity is an organism, cannot accept as a satisfactory solution the theory that interracial conflict is inevitable, or that the races should be segregated from each other, or that they should be amalgamated, or that any one race is meant to have special privileges which are to be denied to others. The Christian solution lies in the races living together in mutual helpfulness, service and good will.

As a result, the following statement was unanimously adopted as expressing the general program for the commission:

1. To assert the sufficiency of the Christian solution of race relations in America and the duty of the churches and all their organizations to give the most careful attention to this question.

2. To provide a central clearing house and meeting place for the churches and for all Christian agencies dealing with the relation of the white and negro races and to encourage and support their activities along this line.

3. To promote mutual confidence and acquaintance, both nationally and locally, between the white and negro churches, especially by State and local conferences between white and negro ministers, Christian educators and other leaders, for the consideration of their common problems.

4. To array the sentiment of the Christian churches against mob violence and to enlist their thoroughgoing support in a special program of education on the subject for a period of at least five years.

5. To secure and distribute accurate knowledge of the facts regarding racial relations and racial attitudes in general, and regarding particular situations that may be under discussion from time to time.

6. To develop a public conscience which will secure to the negro equitable provision for education, health, housing, recreation and all other aspects of community welfare.

7. To make more widely known in the churches the work and principles of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, and especially to support its efforts to establish local interracial committees.

8. To secure the presentation of the problem of race relations and of the Christian solution by white and negro speakers at as many church gatherings as possible throughout the country.

The Commission on Interracial Cooperation is a voluntary group of individuals, both white and colored in the South, who have been cooperating for the purpose of promoting good will between the races. The Federal Council's new commission has as one of its definite aims the strengthening of the influence of the churches [illegible]

RACIAL GROUP UNITY IS BIG AIM OF Y M C. A.

N Y C WORLD
SEPTEMBER 25, 1921

To Seek Removal of Causes of Conflict Between Whites, Negroes and Asiatics.

ATLANTIC CITY, Sept. 24.—The International Y. M. C. A. to-night threw the weight of its influence to a movement to establish better relations between racial groups in America. While the chief aim is to remove, as far as possible, causes of conflict between white and colored races by bringing about a better understanding, similar efforts will be made to smooth out differences between Americans and Asiatics on the Western Coast and Latins and Anglo-Saxons in the industrial centres.

At an open session of the International Committee of the Y. M. C. A.

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at Haddon Hall, white and colored speakers urged equality of opportunity as the basis of harmonious relations between the white and negro races. Presenting the point of view of the colored race was Major A. T. Moton, successor to Booker Washington as head of the Tuskegee Institute, who emphasized the importance of industrial education.

The changed conditions throughout the world as the result of the war and how best the Y. M. C. A. can meet these conditions were subjects of discussion at the morning session.

...sion of the economic outlook disclosed that practically all of those in attendance were of the opinion that the bottom of the industrial depression had been reached.

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Race Relations-1921.

Missouri.

Meetings

NEGRO PROBLEMS PRESENTED TO STATE CONFERENCE.

Kansas City Sun. Mo. 11/12/21

For the first time the social problems of the Negro in this state will have a definite part on the program of the State Conference, Mr. Geo. W. Buckner of the St. Louis Urban League and Chairman of the committee on Negro problems, has spared no time and interest in organizing a real scientific program of some of our vital social problems. Of special interest is the arrangement for an inter-racial conference and mass meeting for Sunday, the opening day of the conference to emphasize the value and importance of racial co-operation in the solving of our problems.

The Conference has invited two speakers for this occasion. They are: Mr. O. J. Hill, a merchant and banker, who is president of the local inter-racial committee, and Mr. E. Kinckle Jones, executive secretary of the National Urban League.

On Monday the problems of the Rural School will be discussed by Prof. C. G. Williams, state school inspector and Eleemosynary Institutions by F. T. Lane of Kansas City.

Social workers and persons interested in the social welfare of the race from all over the state will attend the conference which, it is believed, will set a new day in matter of scientific relief of social problms. Mrs. Ida Walker, who is a member of the state committee on Negro problems, is making all necessary arrangements to care for a large crowd. The Kansas City delegation headed by Mrs. M. L. Crosthwaite will leave on the interurban at 8 A. M., Sunday morning. Many are planning to return after the inter-racial meeting in the afternoon. The fare is $1.38 one way and everybody is invited.

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Race Relations

Meetings

Missouri

RACIAL REFORMS WILL COME SLOWLY SAYS GOV. HYDE

St Louis Argus 3/4/21

Missouri Executive Tells Industrial Commission Immediate Improvement Of Racial Conditions Can Not Be Expected

Special to The Argus:

JEFFERSON CITY, March 2.—Governor Arthur M. Hyde met in conference today with the Mo. Negro Industrial Commission and the Mo. Negro Farmers Bureau and discussed plans for the betterment of Missouri Negroes.

Chairman N. C. Bruce of the Industrial Commission made a forceful appeal for the Missouri Negro, and spoke favorably for the Farm Experiment Bill now before the General Assembly. Mrs. Myrtle F. Cook Commissioner from K. C., made an appeal for a clean Police Administration in Kansas City and also spoke of the necessity of a separate home for incorrigible boys of the Negro Race.

Commissioner Jno. Batchman of the 11th Congressional Dist. expressed the hope that the Industrial Commission would not be consolidated under any other Dep't.

Perry Sheppard, Chairman of the Mo. Negro Farmers Bureau, an organization of 4000 Negro Farmers made an appeal for a Farm Demonstration Plant for Negroes.

Prof. C. C. Hubbard of the Lincoln High School, Sedalia paid a high tribute to Governor Hyde in an introductory speech. Governor Hyde expressed his approval of the good work of the Commission and said in part that the improvement of conditions would be slow and that the people of the state must crawl before they can walk and no reform or immediate improvement of Racial conditions can be expected.

He further said that he was glad of the opportunity to meet leading Negro citizens and that there is a better understanding between the administration and Negroes of the state.

ST LOUIS MO POST DISPATCH
JUNE 6, 1921

INTER-RACE COMMITTEE FOR ST. LOUIS URGED BY NEGROES

Body of 50 to Promote Better Understanding With Whites Recommended at Meeting.

Establishment of an inter-race committee of 50 to promote better understanding between whites and negroes of St. Louis was urged yesterday at a joint meeting of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and the African Communities League at an airdome at 2717 Bernard street.

A resolution praising the impartiality with which St. Louis newspapers reported the Tulsa, Ok., race riot and the temper of the editorial comments was introduced by the Rev. W. A. Venerable and was adopted. Provision for appointment of an inter-race committee was included in the resolution. Venerable, in an address, blamed the disorderly element of both races and the "yellow press" for the Tulsa outbreak.

COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONSHIP HOLD MEET

New York Tribune

Would Enlist All Churches in Common Fight to Stamp Out Mob Violence.

5/15/21

At the recent meet of the Commission on Colored Churches and Race Relations, created by the Federal Council of Churches in Christ in North America, in session at Washington, D. C., a united effort was made for a permanent unity of the church and a proposal was made to stamp out lynching.

Enlistment of all churches in a concrete endeavor to stamp out mob violence and lynching in America and establishment of inter-racial committees in local communities were included in the program.

There are many phases of the race problem that can best be handled through the dexterity of an inter-racial committee, is the opinion of the comm[illegible].

"Such a commission is able to appreciate the best in each race through a heart to heart discussion."

Other features of the program are "to provide a central house and meeting place for the churches and for all Christian agencies dealing with the relation of the white and Colored races," and "to promote mutual confidence and acquaintance, both nationally and locally, between Colored and white churches."

The General Assembly of the Southern Presbyterian Church, recently in session in St. Louis, endorsed "with the greatest possible earnestness" the attitude of the Inter-Racial Commission in commending to the ministers and churches of the South the need for discussing and meeting racial problems in the spirit of Jesus Christ. The Assembly further emphasized "the necessity for maintaining justice and righteousness between the races", endorsed the plan for conference and cooperation between white and colored leaders; and urged its constituency to encourage such conferences and cooperation in their local communities throughout the South.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Race Relations

Meetings

Massachusetts

RACE RELATIONS COMMITTEE OF BOSTON ENTERTAINED WITH DINNER.

(By Associated Negro Press.)

Boston, Mass., Jan. 12.—About 25 persons were entertained at the Twentieth Century Club, white, at a dinner held under the Race relationships Committee of the club.

John Graham Brooks, president, was toastmaster. After the dinner, Matthews Bullock of the Urban League, and Mrs. Butler Wilson of the Women's Service Club, spoke on the work of their respective organizations.

William M. Trotter, National secretary of the Equal Rights League, protested against lynching and "Jim Crow" cars and demanded "Liberty, equality, fraternity" for Negroes. Suffragan Bishop Babcock said that he felt that the Republican party should reduce the representation in Congress of the states which prevented the Negro from voting and expressed the hope that the Negro would soon get his rights, particularly equality before the law.

BOSTON MASS. GLOBE
JANUARY 17, 1921

MOORFIELD STOREY TALKS ON RIGHTS OF NEGROES

"Negro Rights in America" was the subject of the address last night by Moorfield Storey at a meeting of the young people of the Central Congregational Church, Newbury and Berkeley sts.

Mr Storey said in part: "The negro problem is a white man's problem—the problem of those who profess Christianity. The negro's rights are your rights, and you white men cannot claim one right that is not his also. The meanest negro has the same right as the best white man, and if he doesn't get it it is the fault of the white man, for, according to the makers of our Constitution, all men are equal. We are apt to forget what we owe to the negro."

The speaker then explained the position of the negro during the Civil War and told of the effort that was made at the time to keep slavery in the South. This effort, he said, was urged by bar pulpit and statesman.

A musical and Scriptural service preceded the talk. Dr C. Penny presided.

NEW BEDFORD MASS STANDARD
JULY 5 1921

INTER-RACIAL MEETING.

David Silverstien Addresses Alpha Beta Gathering.

The colored race has passed the downward arc of the cycle and is now on the upward way asserted David Silverstien of Fall River in an address before the Inter-Racial meeting held under the auspices of the Alpha Beta fraternity Sunday afternoon. Rev. Robert Moore, pastor of the County Street Methodist Episcopal church, Rev. Dr. J. M. Henderson and William Brown were other speakers. Mrs. William Boucher, Mrs. Edwards and Miss Inez Joseph rendered vocal selections.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Race Relations
Meetings

c Maryland

Organization

Baltimore Herald-Commonwealth

There will be a preliminary meeting of the inter-racial conference on Thursday, January 27, at the Friends Meeting House, in preparation for the large conference in March. Dr. Peter Ainslee, president of the conference will preside. Among the speakers will be Mr. John Cary, Dr. Rhetta and Mr. Mason A. Hawkins.

A large committee of the Women's Co-operative Civic League met on Monday evening at 1400 McCulloh street to complete plans for the annual luncheon which will this year be held on March 12th, at St. Mary's Hall. Mrs. Wm. T. Coleman was named as general chairman of the Luncheon Committee and various sub-commttees with chairmen were also named.

The Una Club of which Mrs. Sallie Logan is president, met on Monday afternoon January 24th, at the residence of Mrs. Minnie Harvey on Lafayette avenue. The members of the club are now servnig for charity and expect to give an entertainment in April, the proceeds of which will be used in aiding aged folks.

INTERRACIAL CONFERENCE MEETS TODAY

Afro-American 3/11/21

White And Colored Speakers To Discuss Local Problems At Friends' Meeting House

SESSION SUNDAY

Dr. J. M. T. Finney To Preside At Meeting At Sharp Street Church

The second Interracial Conference for the discussion of local problems will hold its meetings Friday and Saturday of this week at the Friends' Meeting House, corner of Eutaw and Monument Streets. A Sunday afternoon meeting is scheduled for 3 P. M. at Sharp Street Church. The sessions are open to the public.

The purpose of the Conference is declared by Dr. Peter Ainslie, white, the chairman, to be the fostering of a more friendly spirit between the races, and the attacking of the serious problems in a spirit of co-operation.

At the two o'clock session on Friday, reports will be made on the city "Courts" by Howard C. Hill, white, "Education," Mason A. Hawkins; "Health," Dr. B. M. Rhetta; "Housing" John R. Cary, white, in the evening at 8 o'clock. Dr. Broadus Mitchell, white, of Hopkins and Dr. George E. Haynes of the U. S. Department of Labor, will speak on the "Negro in Industry."

Saturday at 2 o'clock Mrs. Sarah Fernandis will discuss "Health;" J. A. B. Callis, "Recreation;" Rev. George F. Bragg, "Religion;" William Pickens, "Race Attitudes." Professor Josiah Morse, white, of the University of South Carolina, and Prof. J. M. Gandy of Petersburg Normal and Industrial Institute will make addresses at the Sunday afternoon meeting which will be held in Sharp Street Church.

RACIAL CONGRESS BEGINS SESSIONS

BALTIMORE MD NEWS
MARCH 11, 1921

Its Object Is Better Relations With Colored People

Health, housing, education and labor, as they relate to the colored population of the city, will be discussed at the inter-racial conference which opened this afternoon at Friends' Meeting Houst, Eutaw street, near Monument.

Rev. Dr. Peter Ainslie, pastor of the Christian Temple, who called the first conference of the kind a year ago, was so well pleased with the spirit then displayed that he has widened the scope of the present deliberations with the idea of rendering the greatest possible service to the colored population and doing what can be done to make their relations with white people more harmonious.

On the platform will be white and colored speakers who have studied the various subjects. The speakers this afternoon are Howard C. Hill, Mason A. Hawkins (colored), Dr. M. B. Rhetta and John R. Cary.

Key Compton, president of the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, will preside over the session tonight, when the colored labor problem will be taken up. The chief address will be by Dr. George E. Haynes of the Department of Labor, Washington.

A session will be held from 2 to 5 P. M. tomorrow and an important closing meeting at 3 P. M., on Sunday, at Mount Vernon Place Methodist Episcopal Church.

Negroes Could Occupy Old Sections Of City Under Philanthropic Business Plan.

BALTIMORE MD EVE. SUN
MARCH 11, 1921

As a solution to the congestion of the negro population of the city, John R. Cary this afternoon will submit to the Interracial Conference at the Friends Meeting House, a proposal that white people move from the older sections of the city to the newer suburbs and that a financing corporation be formed for the purpose of aiding the negroes to acquire or occupy the vacated older houses.

Mr. Cary calls his proposal philanthropy on a business basis and declares that by "co-operation between the city authorities and private enterprise the worst conditions now existing can be corrected by the use of condemnation proceedings to open streets and parks. A means by which the financial support and philanthropic spirit of the white race can be joined to the aspirations and efforts of the colored is called for to develop a machine through which to work."

This machine, Mr. Cary suggests, should be called a building association, and thinks provision should be made for colored persons of moderate income to use its facilities for the accumulation of capital to be used by them in the purchase of homes.

The limited area available for colored occupancy, Mr. Cary believes, would insure an active demand for all houses offered for sale, as the number of colored persons able to buy is steadily increasing.

Says Negroes Get Justice.

In his report of the commission on courts, Howard C. Hill will call attention to the fact that colored people really do obtain justice in the tribunals, popular suppositions to the contrary notwithstanding.

Other reports to be submitted to the conference are those on education, by Mason A. Hawkins, and that on health, by Dr. M. B. Rhetta. Devotions will be led by the Rev. Dr. Peter Ainslie.

Another session will be held tonight and one tomorrow and one Sunday afternoon in Mount Vernon Place Methodist Episcopal Church. The attitude of the conference is that of friendly approach to the interracial problems and the purpose is to study the problems that enter into interracial conditions and finding a new appreciation by the white people of the colored people's value as members of the community.

BALTIMORE MD. MORN. SUN
MARCH 12, 1921

ADEQUATE HOUSING IS SO IMportant that the Interracial Conference now meeting in Baltimore can find few problems which bear more closely on the so-called negro question. The colored population of Baltimore cannot find houses sufficient for its needs, and it is seriously handicapped by the conditions under which many of its members live. The housing problem of the negro is affected by many factors which make it extremely difficult of solution, and the action proposed at the Interracial Conference is worthy of encouragement—not only because it seems to provide a practical method of securing the end desired, but because this method is so sensible as to avoid the friction which more ostentatious plans are apt to arouse. Unfortunately no plan can, under present conditions, be thoroughly effective in meeting any housing situation, whether white or colored. The immediate effect of a negro building association will be small, no matter how wisely conducted; but the idea is important.

John R. Cary Appeals To Interracial Conference To Abolish Family Herding.

CALLS IT MENACE TO HEALTH

Three-day Sessions Open In Friends Meeting-House—Appeals For Better Schools.

BALTIMORE MD AMERICAN
MARCH 12, 1921

The danger to the community from the congestion of population in sections of the City of Baltimore occupied by the negro race, the menace to the health, not only of those living in such sections, but also to those into whose homes many of them go as employees, a definite plan to provide adequate housing facilities were discussed by John R. Cary, chairman of the commission on housing at the Inter-racial Conference of Baltimore, which opened its second annual session at Friends Meeting House yesterday afternoon at 2 o'clock.

Must Provide Facilities.

The sessions will last for three days, the final meeting taking place at Mount Vernon Place Methodist Episcopal Church tomorrow afternoon at 3 o'clock. The first session was formerly opened by Rev. Dr. Peter Ainslie, pastor of Christian Temple, Fulton avenue, and chairman of the conference.

"The herding together of the negro race in this city, which results from high rents, is a menace to the morality of life, and increases automatically the lawless element," said Mr. Cary, in opening his address. "Every consideration of self respect, god citizenship, humanity and Christian sentiment calls for some action in the direction of proper housing for these humble members of society, without whom we would be helpless in many directions, and whose progress and development work to the advantage of every other citizen," he continued.

"So far as our observations have developed in the matter of providing more adequate housing facilities for the negroes of Baltimore, it would seem to us that the most feasible plan is to form a corporation possibly to be called a building association, which association should have charter powers covering buying, selling, renting, building and managing real estate or leasehold property. Provisions should be made for leasing full paid or instalment shares, to the end that persons of means can invest as an aid to the philanthropic work of the association, and that the negroes of moderate means can use its facilities for the accumulation of capital to be used by them in the purchase of homes.

For Rental Or Purchase.

"We believe that houses could be definitely rented at reasonable rates without provision of purchase, that run down property could be bought, repaired and sold, and that houses could be remodeled for apartments and rented. The leases of all houses rented should be drawn to control the character of occupancy and insure sanitary and moral use so as to educate the tenants in proper social habits. To secure this result, renting while selling would be better than giving title and taking back a mortgage for part of the price. The reasonable rentals which are planned are certain to keep the houses owned by the association always full, which means freedom from losses through vacancies.

Appeals For Better Schools.

"If the sympathetic white people of Baltimore knew how real the dangers are when an average negro attempt to buy a house, and how completely dependent he is upon somebody for advice and guidance, this interest alone should compel the successful conclusion of this project."

WANTS PLAYGROUNDS FOR COLORED YOUTHS

BALTIMORE MD AMERICAN
MARCH 13, 1921

West African Women To Call On Bishop Murray.

The need of more adequate playgrounds in the city, swimming pools and an athletic field in some section of the city was discussed by Prof. J. A. B. Callis, chairman of the Commission on Recreation of the Inter-Racial Conference of Baltimore, during the second day's session of the conference held in Friends' Meeting House, Eutaw near Monument street, yesterday afternoon at 2 o'clock.

Two personalities of interest at the sessions of the interracial conference are West African women who have

OVER

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

(From Over)

come to this country to raise money for the vocational education of girls in their native land.

The women, who though they wear native costumes speak the English language, will be taken Monday morning by Mrs. Francis King Carey to call on Bishop John Gardner Murray. They visited Mrs. Carey when they first arrived in Baltimore last week and have secured her co-operation in the philanthropic work which they are doing.

Mrs. Carey, who is on a committee with Mrs. Sarah Farnandis (colored) to co-ordinate the various activities for the welfare of colored people in Baltimore, said at the session of the interracial conference yesterday afternoon:

"I have been attending interracial conferences all my life, for I have always had colored people in the house with me."

DENIES EQUALITY IS AIM OF NEGRO RACE

BALTIMORE MD AMERICAN
MARCH 14, 1921

Prof. Gaudy Says Only Rights Are Asked—Appeals For Abolition Of "Jim Crow" Cars.

Opposition of the negro race, taken collectively as a race, to social equality, the desire for more courteous treatment of negroes by white people, adequate school advantages and freedom of travel for negroes were the main points discussed by Professor John M. Gandy, president of the Virginia Normal and Industrial Institute in an address delivered yesterday afternoon at Mount Vernon Place Methodist Episcopal Church.

Professor Gandy's address marked the close of the three-day session of the interracial conference of Baltimore, and he took for his topic "What the Negro Wants."

"Before telling you what the negro really wants," said Professor Gandy in openng hs address. "I first want to tell you one thing in particular that he doesn't want, and that is racial or social equality. Social equality is purel ya personal matter and does not in any way affect the race as a whole. I have made a deep study into this matter and I know that the intelligent negro does not want to place himself into a position where his presence is not wanted. The negro does not want race mixture or inter marriage either.

"The negro of the present day thinking wants freedom of travel. The Jim Crow car is one of the worst evils ever forced upon the negro in this country, and the law was passed years ago in the Southern States for no other purpose but to humiliate the race.

"The Jim Crow cars are filthy as a rule and there is no privacy for decent, respectable negro women when traveling. We do not think it unfair to ask that the railroads give us cars where each negro can pay for the service he may expect to get. If there were cars for us of the first and second class, then respectable negroes would be able to enjoy cleanliness and some of the comforts that are now denied them. We do not expect nor do not want to travel in the same coaches as white people but we do think we are entitled to better service than we get today."

Professor Josiah Moore of the University of South Carolina, Columbia, was scheduled to address the meeting, but was unable to be present owing to illness in his family. His place on the program was taken by Rev. Dr. Hennegin of Richmond, Va., who spoke of the co-operative work that is being done in that city and State by both white people and negroes in the matter of industrial welfare through the tobacco sections where a large amount of negro help is employed. Dr. J. M. T. Finney presided at the meeting.

Reports Presented at Inter-Racial Conference in Baltimore on Education, Industry, Housing and Migration to the North

BOSTON MASS C S MONITOR
MARCH 15, 1921

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

BALTIMORE, Maryland — The Inter-Racial Conference held in Baltimore March 11-13, presented a strong program. In Baltimore the problems of the Negro race loom particularly large and have aroused the attention of thinkers and leaders of the south and of the country at large. They center around the matters of education, health, industry and housing. The program presented handled all these, as well as questions of family life, recreation and religion.

The report on industry calls attention to two "primary facts." First: That the bulk of Negroes above the age of 10 years gainfully employed is confined to a few occupations and these largely unskilled; second, that among Negroes the proportion of female to male workers is strikingly higher than among whites.

In the migration from the south to the north during the war years, this report asserts, 18,000 Negroes were added to the already large Negro population of Baltimore, and in the present state of readjustment and unemployment the Negro is suffering acutely—first because his labor is of a low grade and the Negro can rarely be classed as a skilled laborer, and, second, because of the lack of unions among Negro workers. Unionism, entrance into fields of skilled labor, and a reduction of the difference between male and female Negro workers are remedies urged as a beginning of betterment for the Negro in the industrial field.

The housing plan presented to the conference had its initiative in a meeting of the home missions committee of the Friends, in whose meeting house the conference sessions were held. It looks toward the purchasing of entire blocks in the Negro section and turning them into model tenements, if possible, and if impossible, tearing down present structures and erecting new ones. It also looks toward the building of up-to-date Negro homes in the suburbs of the city. The plan of management is somewhat similar to that now being backed by the Chamber of Commerce in Richmond, Virginia, in which the small investor is welcomed in preference to the large one, rent is accepted as payment on purchase, repairs are credited to the account of tenant and in which purchase, instead of rent, is encouraged.

Afro-American 3/18/21

INTERRACIAL CONFERENCE

Apparently only a few persons of both races manifested an interest in the second annual meeting of the Interracial Conference held in the Friends' Meeting House Friday and Saturday of last week, and on Sunday at Mt. Vernon Church.

It is undoubtedly true that but proportionately few white people are concerned in the working out of better relationships between the races in the city, while most of the colored people doubt the ability of the few well disposed of the other race to influence the vast majority of their fellows who are either disinterested or avowedly hostile.

The majority of white people in the city and state believe in separate railroad cars, capitalizing the names of all races except "Negro," employing only white people on street railways, in telephone and telegraph service, and in all skilled trades, even when these skilled workers must serve only colored people. This same public opinion believes in junior high schools, vocational schools, college and university education in Maryland for white people only, and courts of justice administered exclusively by white judges and juries in courtrooms where the colored people have certain seats reserved for them.

Under such circumstances it is not to be wondered out that the Interracial Conference was attended by comparatively few persons. There is nothing in this however, that should discourage Dr. Peter Ainslie, president of the Conference, and his workers. On the other hand their public stand for a change in these conditions stamps them at once as heroes far above the common clay.

RACE CO-OPERATION DISCUSSED BEFORE HARVARD PROFESSORS

Urban League Program Presented To Cambridge Group

Baltimore Md. Herald 11/16/21

On Monday evening of last week Professor Paul J. Sacha of the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University, and treasurer of the Cambridge Urban League had a notable gathering of professors of Horvard University, deans of the colleges and their wives together with many leading citizens of Boston at his home "Shady Hill," t discuss "Racial Co-operation" and to learn at first hand what is being done throughout the country by leading social service movements to establish justice for all and to secure lorger opportunity for the Negro.

The principal speakers were Eugene Kinckle Jones, executive secretary of the National Urban League and Moorfield Storey, former president of the Bar Association and president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Mr. William A. Lee, secretary of the Cambridge Urban Leogue, presented an outline of the accomplishments of his organization for the past year and plans for expansion during the ensuing fiscal year.

Among those present were Mr. and Mrs. Paul J. Sachs, Dean L. B. R. Briggs, Mr. and Mrs. John Graham Brooks, Mrs. John F. Moore, Miss Alice Tapley, Miss Miss Louise W. Brooks and Professor Albert Bushnell Hart.

Mr. Storey emphasized the importance of the work of both the Urban League and Advancement Association, saying hoy necessary it was that the two organizatins shuld work in harmony as without it the development of a sound industrial and social foundation in the race and the securing and holding of political and civil rights would prove most difficult.

Mr. Jones cautioned those in authority from seeking to solve the problems of racial difficulties through alienating Negro leaders from the masses of their peple by means of ffering them sofe jobs and federal positions—a plan followed by the English in India, Egypt and other colonial possessions. "Results," he said "are apt to prove disastrous as a feeling of resentment and dissatisfaction is created in the masses of the people an dthe many potential leaders within the group are stirred to action which may prove destructive to our cherished institutions.

The headquarters of the league is 127 23rd street, New York City.

Money Ordinarily Paid As Rental Goes On Purchase Price

Baltimore Afro-American 11/18/21

Every person who pays rent can own a home.

This is the belief of the Inter Racial Conference composed of leading white and colored citizens of the city, who have incorporated a building association to enable the colored people of the city to buy and live in their own homes. John R. Carey, white, is president of the new association and a members of the board Dr. B. M. Rhetta, T. S. Hawkins and R. G. Chissell are the colored memberes of the board of directors The association meets at the Sharp Street Community House every Monday night.

The plan, which is largely Mr. Carey's work, allows every person able to pay rent on a house to come to the Association and have the Association purchase the house for them. Instead of paying rent to the landlord, the usual rent is paid each month to the Association and applied by it to the purchase price of the house. No interest is charged and every cent of the money paid goes on the purchase price of the home except what must be taken out for expenses of the house, such as water rent and taxes.

Poor people who have no money to pay down on the house and stil want to own a home would be refused by ordinary building associations. Under Mr. Carey's plan the home will be purchased by the Association and afterwards sold by the association to them on monthly installments.

Mr. Carey is said to have gotten this plan from an organization among the Jews of the city who purchase stores, stock and fixtures for Jewish storekeepers and allow themselves to be paid back at the rate of so much a month without charging any interest.

About twenty-five persons applied for the privilege of buying homes under this plan at the meeting last Monday. So far money for this purpose has been supplied by Mr. Carey and his philanthropic friends. Notice is being spread among the churches and among leading organizations and persons all over the city are invited to buy their homes instead of renting them.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Race Relations Meetings

Maryland

Betterment Of Negroes Furthered At Conference On Inter-Racial Questions

Among Subjects Taken Up At Meetings Were Those Of Housing For The Colored Population, Prevention Of Tuberculosis, Better Educational Facilities, Additional Athletic Opportunities And Industrial Conditions.

BALTIMORE MD. MORN. SUN
MARCH 20, 1921
BY RUTH M. WICKERS,

Acting Secretary of the Inter-Racial Conference.

THE Inter-Racial Conference of Baltimore held its second annual meeting March 11 to 13 in the Friends' Meeting House and Mount Vernon Place Methodist Episcopal Church. The first session opened Friday afternoon with the Rev. Dr. Peter Ainslie, of the Christian Temple, presiding. Dr. Ainslie emphasized the attitude, purpose and scope of the conference. He said, in part:

"The attitude of this conference is that of a friendly approach to the inter-racial problems which is the scientific method of permanent adjustment of any problem. The purpose of the conference is to study the problems that enter into inter-racial conditions, finding a new appreciation by the white people of the colored people's value as members of the community, and likewise finding a new appreciation by the colored people of the white people's interest and readiness to co-operate in the colored people's endeavors for racial betterment. The scope of the conference includes all subjects that have to do with the white and colored peoples and the discussing of these problems with frankness."

The two most important factors in any discussion of the inter-racial question are prejudice, on the one hand, and haste, on the other. The white people have to get rid of their prejudice against the negro and realize that the black man's mind is just the same as the white man's, that he has the same capabilities, if he is given the same opportunities. The negro has got to understand that the things he wants cannot happen in a day and even if it were possible, he would not be ready for them. This was fully realized by the conference and was conceded by representatives of both races.

The main question, of course, is what *do* the colored people want? This question was answered by several of the speakers and received the general indorsement of the colored people present.

What The Conference Did.

Approved plans to relieve housing congestion of negroes by forming association to finance colored people in obtaining homes.

Indorsed statements that negroes do not want social equality with white people and made it clear that betterment of the colored race cannot come in a day.

Ascertained that the negro wants privileges of citizenship and adequate educational advantages for children.

Lack of courtesy and kindness on the part of both white and colored children toward each other was deplored.

Establishment of a tuberculosis preventorium for colored children suggested.

Wants Privileges Of Citizenship.

"The negro," said one speaker, "does not want social equality." The colored man does not want to be on a par socially with the white man. What he does want is to be recognized as a man, to be given the privileges of citizenship. He wants adequate educational provisions for colored children. Prof. Mason A. Hawkins, principal of the Colored High School, in his report for the Commission on Education, said: "The lack of adequate schoolhouses has been a serious hindrance to effective teaching, to health and to moral training."

However, in Baltimore city the improvement of our schoolhouses is at present being given all possible consideration. What is needed now most urgently is an adequate, well-equipped high school building for the colored youth of Baltimore. Another thing needed in the educational line is better salaries for teachers. Quite worthy of note in this connection is the fact that there has been a general movement for the equalization of salaries, regardless of race or sex.

A deplorable lack of courtesy and kindness on the part of both white and colored children toward each other was brought out in the conference, and it was suggested that the schools teach the children to be courteous and considerate of each other. Unless this be done when the children of today become men and women they still will be discussing the same problems we are and will not be much further advanced in their relations toward each other.

The report of the Commission on Health, of which Dr. B. M. Rhetta, a colored physician of the city, is chairman, was given under three headings—work accomplished, work planned for and work possible.

Would Curb Tuberculosis.

One of the most important things under the first heading is the establishing of a tuberculosis preventorium for colored children. Tuberculosis is making heavy inroads on the colored race and the value of a preventorium, both to the colored people and to the community, cannot be overestimated. Dr. Rhetta further stated:

"When this effort was begun there was not and had never been a negro officially connected with the Health Department in Baltimore. Today there are two school physicians, four school nurses and one tuberculosis nurse. This success has been due to the fact that Dr. Jones, the city Health Commissioner and a member of the Interracial Conference Commission on Health, has been interested in having negroes take hold of this work, not because they were negroes, but because he realized that a negro health officer can and will locate more disease among negroes than any outsider."

Along the line of work planned for, Dr. Rhetta said, "our plans are to give out to the people information (regarding the prevention of tuberculosis and other diseases) and then to see to it that instructions are heeded." This information is to go first to physicians and nurses, who, it is stated, neglect to report cases of disease that should be reported, thus allowing the germs to go from person to person and so spreading the disease. In regard to possibilities, Dr. Rhetta concluded by saying:

"All things that are right are possible. If we keep before us the proper spirit, this working together of white and black folks for the common good will grow to be the biggest thing of our community, with possibilities that will be measureless."

An important question of the conference was that of the housing conditions among the colored people. In this connection, one of the members of that race stated that the negroes do not want to live in white neighborhoods. What they do want is to have houses that are fit to live in. A plan to promote home-owning among the colored people and to furnish houses for rent at a reasonable figure was recommended by John R. Cary, chairman of the Commission on Housing.

Mr. Cary's plan is to form a corporation, having six incorporators, who already have been secured, along the lines of a building association. Persons of large and small means would invest in this association, receiving dividends up to 5 per cent. It would be used by the colored people to accumulate money to be used in the buying of homes. In the case of renting, all rentals in excess of expenses and 6 per cent. interest would be credited toward the purchase price of the home. This plan of Mr. Cary's was received with enthusiasm by both races.

Justice Obtained In Courts.

The report on courts was read by Howard C. Hill, of the Prisoners' Aid Association. Mr. Hill cited several cases to prove the lack of discrimination against the colored race, showing that progress has been made along these lines.

The industrial condition of the negro was presented by Prof. Broadus Mitchell, of Johns Hopkins University. The most outstanding fact of this report was the large number of negro females employed. The proportion of female to male workers is strikingly higher among colored people than among white people. Professor Mitchell said in closing: "The members of the committee believe that, despite discouragements, wisdom suggests organization of colored workers wherever possible. This will be of large psychological and social advantage, in addition to accomplishing economic improvement."

Mrs. Sarah C. Fernandis, colored, read a very interesting report from the commission on "Family Life," in which she told of her experience in a certain community of the South, which showed her very forcefully the interest and co-operation of the white people. The nearest goal of this commission, according to Mrs. Fernandis, "is the further strengthening and broadening of the work of the Civic League through the establishment of ward branches, and co-operation with the Tuberculosis Association in its program for the physical betterment of the colored child."

Athletic Facilities Needed.

The need of better athletic facilities and better park conditions was emphasized by Prof. J. A. B. Callis, colored, in his report for the Commission on Recreation.

In the report of the Commission on Religion, given by the Rev. George F. Bragg, Jr., colored, the suggestion was made that there be held through the year a number of sectional interracial meetings for the consideration of problems and conditions in which all are interested and by which both races are affected. The further suggestion was made that there be more co-operation between white and colored ministers and leaders in the initiation and launching of such religious and charitable movements as look to and ask for the support of members of both races.

All of these reports were most interesting and encouraging. Much credit is due the chairmen of these commissions, as well as the members of the commissions, for the great work that has been accomplished during this year.

One of the most interesting and informing, although unexpected features of the conference was an address by Mrs. Casely Hayford, a native of West Africa. Mrs. Hayford and her niece, Miss Easmon, also a native African, have studied in London and are here soliciting aid for a girls' school in Sierra Leone. Mrs. Hayford's address was most brilliant, her English was excellent and her personality radiated culture and refinement. Miss Easmon displayed some of the wonderful work done by the people in Africa. These people had no education and no training, yet their work is marvelous. Mrs. Hayford and her niece were striking illustrations of what the negro is capable if he is given the opportunity.

At the closing session on Sunday afternoon at the Mount Vernon Place Methodist Episcopal Church Father Hannigan, in a very interesting address set forth the value of the colored and white peoples coming together to discuss frankly their differences. The Interracial Conference of Baltimore is a long step toward the solution of this great question of racial co-operation. The conference will continue its work in the future through its various commissions, studying problems and seeking to discover ways and means whereby to improve conditions and promote understanding and good-will between the races.

Race Problem Requires Study, Dr. Morse Says

BALTIMORE MD. MORN. SUN
DECEMBER 14, 1921

South Carolina Educator Talks Of Southern Negro Before Hopkins Social Science Club.

Solution of the problem of race relationships lies in a carefully studied modification and development of certain animal instincts both in the negro and the white man, Dr. Josiah Morse, professor of psychology and philosophy in the University of South Carolina, declared

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yesterday in a lecture at Johns Hopkins University, Homewood.

Professor Morse spoke on "Race Relationship in the South," under the auspices of the Hopkins Social Science Club. More than 300 persons attended, including a group of about 50 students from Morgan College.

Sees No Quick Remedy.

"The race problem of the South," Dr. Morse said, "is not *sui generis*—it is not a problem confined to one district or section of the country. It is but a small fragment of a universal problem for which there is no panacea or quick remedy. It is a matter that will require many generations for its solution, if we may even go so far as to assume that a 'solution' can be found.

"The key to this solution, I believe, is to be found in the realm of the animal instincts of man. First of all, the whites must 'tone down' their instinct to dominate and exploit those who are weaker than themselves. We must overcome our instinctive contempt for the weaker races. We must learn to cast aside the use of such contemptuous epithets as 'nigger,' 'wop' and 'greaser.'

"In the South the negro is an economic enemy of the white man. And if the negro were not an economic enemy to millions of people in the South the opposition to him would be lessened considerably.

Should Stimulate Race Pride.

"On the other hand, the negro must learn to seek his own salvation and realize that his greatest enemy is not the white man, but the negro himself. The negro race must first tone down three animal instincts—those of imitation, of play and of sex. It must stimulate the growth of the family instinct, the instinct of work and, greatest of all, race pride.

"In the South the white race has not done what it should do toward helping the negro, but this has been because the people have not dared to do what their hearts have prompted. However, many descendants of the old slaveholders are working quietly although persistently to help the negro, and there are more than 800 inter-racial committees now active throughout the Southern States."

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Race Relations
Meetings

Georgia

Inter-Racial Committee For Savannah

Savannah Press 1/5/21

More than two months ago a few colored men were called into conference with Bishop Hoss as to the advisability of organizing an inter-racial committee. The movement was approved. It has resulted in the conference of a similar group of white men during the week. These two groups will meet next week to organize and further formulate plans for action.

NEGROES ARE URGED TO BE LAW-ABIDING

Constitution 1/24/21

Strong and helpful addresses were delivered in Reed Street Baptist church Sunday morning on the subject, "Inter-Racial Relationship Between the Races," by two representative leaders of the negro race.

Rev. E. P. Johnson, pastor, said: "The negro does much to impede his own progress by misusing the opportunities given him in the south and failing to be true to his race. Too many of our leaders render excuses for some of the crimes committed by negroes, which causes the lawless class to commit more crimes in the city and state."

Rev. B. R. Holmes, president of Holmes Institute, said: "The mass of the colored people live in the south, and you are urged to be law-abiding citizens, live in peace with your neighbors, and prove that you are worthy of their respect and confidence by being constructive citizens, buying homes, and educating your children. Your success does not depend upon the section of the country in which you live, but in training the young negro in the principles of self-respect and useful citizenship."

WOMEN PLAN INTER-RACIAL CO-OPERATION

3/19/21 Savannah Press

A plan for local co-operation between white and colored women has just been put out by the Continuation Committee of the recent Memphis conference of Southern white women. This committe, composed of members of all white churches in the South, the Y. W. C. A., and women's clubs, asks each general and national organization to authorize in its local societies a committee of three women on local inter-racial work. These committees are to confer with leading colored women of the community, and to direct their own societies in a study of local conditions as regards Negro housing, sanitation and the needs of Negro women and children. They shall also lead their local organizations in a study of Negro contributions to literature, music and art, that there may be a better understanding of the Negro's contribution to America life along these lines, so little known in the average Southern community. They are to co-operate with white and colored agencies for community betterment, uniting with the other local white women's committees, and with the men's inter-racial committee constituting in the latter a special committee on women's activities.

The state inter-racial committees now organized throughout the South are already open to women, as are the hundreds of county committees now in operation. This plan carries co-operation into the place most needing it—the local community. It also opens a channel for the expression of the growing desire among Southern white women to work out in daily life those standards of health, morality and justice which cannot be neglected for either race without imperiling the homes of both.

The achievement of inter-racial confidence and mutual good-will is the greatest opportunity now confronting the South; whether viewed from the industrial, the agricultural, or the religious standpoint. The accession of women to the ranks of the general state, county and local inter-racial committees will hasten the accomplishment of this desired end.

SEES NEGRO PROBLEM AS MISSIONARY FIELD

Pastor Discusses Relation of Church and Race Question.

REFUTES FIVE FALLACIES

Savannah Ga News
APRIL 25, 1921

Exhaustive Discourse Explodes Many Theories on Solution.

"The Race Problem" was the currently interesting and up-to-date, practical theme of the morning discourse by Rev. Neal L. Anderson, D. D., pastor of the Independent Presbyterian Church, before that congregation yesterday—a discussion of some of the prevalent fallacies regarding the "problem" of the negro and a pointing out of some of the chief duties of the church and of professing Christians in the premises in this section.

The "problem" of the negro in the South, the preacher characterized, as at once a menace and a charge, a burden and an opportunity, a responsibility and an open door for immediate and priceless service. Dr. Anderson took for a lesson the story of the Good Samaritan, told to the inquirer who had asked, "Who is my neighbor?" and his text from Psalms 69:31: "Ethiophia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God!"

A Burden and an Honor.

The speaker declared that the "race problem," in the South, in America, indeed, is the "white man's burden," but while a burden—an honor, a tribute to the ability of the white man to bear it and handle it, a challenge to his sense of duty and obligation to a weaker people, but little more than a generation removed from slavery. The problem, he said, was threaded with long-standing racial prejudice and the solution of the problem cannot be approached honestly nor intelligently by the white people of North or South if they are blinded by this readily understood prejudice.

He said that he proposed to address himself to a discussion of the question not as a statesman, nor as a philosopher, nor yet as a theorist, but as one from birth imbued with the Southern ideals and shadowed by Southern traditions, speaking as a minister of the Gospel of grace.

He said that probably the problem will never be perfectly solved; that at most there is the hope that its solution may be approximated—but, he declared, it will take time. Americans are too prone, he reminded his congregation, to be in a hurry about doing things which require the slow work of generations—to expect overnight some one to come forward with a complete "solution" of the age-old "race problem."

He said: "I shall not offer a 'solution,' but I may point out five fallacies concerning the problem, fallacies popularly promulgated; and I may call attention to some of the duties which the church and the Christian face with reference to this intimate, immediate question."

The Five Fallacies.

The first fallacy advanced by many, he declared, is one which has been proposed as a solution—at intervals for the past hundred years, a "solution" which has been attempted and found vain: The deportation, the removal of the colored population of the South, or of America. He declared that this proposed "solution" is not practicable or feasible—indeed, it is impossible; to export, deport, if you please, eleven millions of people, when they themselves do not wish to be removed, when the white people among whom most of them live do not wish them removed, when there is no place to which they could go, and no at all workable method by which they could be removed even if the other objections were overcome—is, the speaker declared, visionary and foolish.

Dr. Anderson referred to Prof. DuBois, one of the authorities of his race, who told of the pathetic condition of even the educated negro removed from the South to Philadelphia—and his pitiable efforts to find remunerative work, a home, and hope for a future. The speaker said the negro cannot be taken out of the South—Africa, Cuba, Porto Rico, Mexico, Central and South America, places suggested as the home for the "deported negro race," all have race problems of their own and could not be considered, even if the negroes could be moved and if it were wise to move them, best for them or for the white man.

The South, he said, finds the negro the best labor to be found in the world—for its agricultural activity and for other uses and the negro is needed in the South; not only so, but the negro needs the South, the help of the people among whom he has been reared, among people who know him and people he can trust.

"Exterminate the Negro?"

The next fallacy which has been suggested as a "solution," the preacher said he hesitated to mention, because of its repulsiveness to the majority of the people of the South, the extermination of the negro. This monstrously false solution, he said, is based on the truism that "if there were no negroes there would be no negro problem. He said that despite the occasional flaring up of the passions aroused to excite under the stirring of the old prejudice by the lawless element, the relations generally between the Southern whites and the negroes is one of generally marvelous good spirit.

He cited the old time relation existing between the old negroes and "their white folks;" and he cited the prevalent relations existing now between the better classes of the races. He said that even when such outbreaks occur as the Atlanta race riot, the substantial body of white citizens, the great mass of the white population, was the welcome and certain refuge of the negro, protecting the worthy negroes, defending the law-abiding negroes, even at the cost of their own safety on many occasions.

"We must look at the facts calmly," he said. "We must face the situation as it is; we cannot for a moment listen to those who would solve the question by the extermination of the negro.

A third fallacy he essayed to refute was the suggestion of some, coldly and perhaps honestly minded in the matter, that the slow process of the amalgamation of the two races will eventually be effected and thus the problem solved. This, the speaker said, from the very nature of the case can never be; there is the race prejudice against social equality; deeply grounded in the South, this prejudice is taking steady hold in the North, too, and the negro finds that the white man will not accept such conditions as look toward the solution of the problem by the process of amalgamation.

The negro himself, when sensible, understands this. There are not now any who advocate the intermarriage of the races. He said, however, that the peril of the white race is the lust of the white man who make victims of the ignorant women of the other race. This peril, he said, must be overcome by a great awakening of conscience and arousing of sentiment for purity among white men.

The fourth fallacy, he said, was the notion, generally disseminated, that the "negro is incapable of improvement in condition." He said that people will readily believe anything, and many believe that education does the negro more harm than good; that the negro cannot be trained into better manhood and womanhood, better citizenship. He cited the records of several negro institutions—especially the Alabama Normal College for negroes, of which, by the way Dr. Anderson, was for years chairman of the executive board as representative of the Governor of that state—and said that these records show that no graduates of that school nor of Tuskegee, or of other schools in which the negro is properly educated have ever been on the rolls of the chaingangs and penitentiaries.

He declared that the negro cannot be educated as the people of other races—except in rare cases. If a negro can take training for professions, for the arts and sciences—let him have that training, to be sure, the speaker said; but for the most part the education that is adapted to the negro is not the series of courses demanded by races with thousands of years of civilization back of the present generation. Training of body as well as mind, training of the hand and the head, training for trades and farming—these things do not make negroes worse; they make better citizens, better laborers, better men and women.

The fifth false idea, he said, expressing the greatest political crime of the century, is the theory that a "negro is only a white man with a black skin." He declared that the problem can only be made more complex, more sorely tangled, more infinitely difficult by spreading this notion that a "negro is merely a colored man."

He said that the nature of the negro is different from the natural characteristics of the white man; the viewpoint, the elements in his temperament, disposition, inherent, innate qualities are not identical with the traits of the other races. The negro, he said, cannot be treated as a white man; indeed, he said, the real, sane, level-headed negro had rather be called a "negro" than "a colored man."

"You cannot make a white man black, nor a negro a white man," said the speaker, "and only as we carefully consider the radical racial differences of nature which are permanent can we hope to study the problem with hope of solution.

Then What Can Church Do?

Having thus cleared the field of discussion of the common heresies concerning the projected, the proposed "solution" of the race problem, the minister asked, "What are the duties, then, of the church, of Christians, in this matter—a matter which brings its recurring crises, which is just now in some parts of our own state, a tense and emergent one?"

"That the problem is a menace, that the Christians of the South have a duty in the premises, that the church can do something," the speaker admitted. He said that something beyond theories, beyond social activity systems, something above disciplinary methods, outside of legislation—must operate.

He declared that Christian religion alone holds the secret of a solution of the problem—the Christian religion alone can put the right spirit into the white man and the proper attitude into the black man, to help them work out together this great question.

First, he declared, Christian men and women, as Christian citizens, must deal fairly and honestly with the weaker and ignorant race; aye, more, they must protect the negro against the injustice, cruelty and unfairness of some among the white people of the state.

"We boast," he said, "of our superiority as a white race, of our superior Anglo-Saxon qualities. Here, in this claim to such superiority, is the test of our faith in our own power; here is the obligation, to see that the weaker race is honestly treated, fairly dealt with, protected, and helped.

"We should talk less of the race problem and more of the duty of the white people to the negro. And here is the deadly menace in our social and economic system in the South, this temptation upon the stronger race to take advantage of the weaker servants in the homes and on the farms."

The speaker said that when unscrupulous white men take money unfairly from negroes the act reacts—and produced inevitably dishonest dealings with fellow white people. He said it is God's law—that such will be the case. The penalty we pay in lawlessness among our own people, when we have practiced illegal methods with the weaker race. From Robert E. Lee down through many leaders to this day, he said, there has been, opposing the long-standing prejudice against the negro, an urgent call to honesty, fairness, unselfishness and helpfulness in dealing with these who need help from the stronger members of society.

The preacher said that the church has the greatest mission field in the world in this negro possibility—at our very doors, among a people who speak our own tongue, a people with whom we are familiar, a people we know as nobody else on earth knows them. "If Christ should come to Savannah," said the speaker, "would he come first to the Independent Church, to Christ Church, to the First Baptist or any of the other 'leading' churches?"

No, he would come to the needy ones and the negroes are in that class." The speaker indicated that following the commission of the Christ is the supreme duty of the church to prosecute its ministry among these in our own land who need Christianity, freed from its purely emotional elements, a Christianity which they can see exemplified in the lives of the white people, a Christianity which will as surely transform a black man's life as a white man's conduct.

"We are sending missionaries to Africa," declared Dr. Anderson, "and we are doing little or nothing for the negroes at our doors, in our homes as servants, in the shops, on the streets, on the farms. The Gospel is for the

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black man as well as for the white man, the Ethiopian is stretching out his hands for God. The church of God must give to the negro the Christianity that expresses the living Christ and to do that the church must have that sort of Christianity. We have our opinions about what the negro's religion is like; do we ever think what the negro's opinion must be of the Christian religion of the white people for whom he works?"

MINISTER TELLS HOW WHITE MAN MAY HELP NEGRO

Constitution 6/6/21

Ways in which the white man may aid the negro were outlined in a sermon delivered Sunday by Rev. W. J. DeBardeleben, pastor of Bayne Memorial Methodist church.

Preaching on "White Skins and White Hearts" he said, in part:

"We who are so fortunate as to have been born with white skins, should, for many reasons best known to ourselves, be duly thankful to the Creator. We should also endeavor to demonstrate by our every act that this whiteness was more than skin deep; that it was an outward manifestation of an inward work of grace. It is the whiteness of the soul that is to count when the secrets of all hearts are made known. The Bible, both by precept and example, emphasizes this great truth.

Solomon, the wise one, in his songs of Solomon, says: 'I am black, but comely.' The first one to bear the cross of the Savior was one whose skin was black. The first missionary to carry the gospel of the ascended Christ to another continent was a negro. Even the much quoted and misused 'leopard spots' refers to the heart rather than the body. Out of the heart are the issues of life. . . . No sane man, white or black, would advocate social equality for the two races, but we should teach moral equality. We should so manifest the spirit of Christianity in our dealings with each other as to eliminate all friction.

"In all this discussion we are having just now with reference to the negro problem let us not become prejudiced against the well-meaning negro. We need him and he needs us. Who knows but what the Almighty permitted him to be brought here to have him developed mentally and morally. We never would have accomplished this as a missionary proposition. Here he imitates, our clothes, our customs, vices or virtues, our theology. Even now we can make him a great deal better or a great deal worse. In fact, he is our moral mirror reflecting many of our virtues and vices.

"In conclusion, let us remember that there are many things to his everlasting credit. . . . First, he is the most optimistic human being on earth, suicides among them are rare, he is cheerful in poverty, resigned in suffering, and hopeful in death. . . . Secondly, he is loyal to his adopted country. Whatever faults he may have he is neither traitor nor slacker when this country is at war The department of justice has no records of treasonable writings, or betrayal of military secrets to the enemy charged to the negro. Last but not least, the negro is intensely religious. No race can pray, sing or preach like his. He can furnish a medium for religious truth that will prove most beneficial to the other races with whom he comes in contact, and react most favorably upon those who have tutored him.

"The fact that the prayers of an ex-slave led my mother to Christ, and that another gave me the earliest religious training I have any recollection of, when my mother was taken, inspires me to make this statement to my congregation.

Curbing Mobs in Georgia.

Christian Index 8/12/21

The recent conference on racial relations in Georgia called by Governor Dorsey has given out a report backing the governor's proposed anti-mob legislation. The bill favored by the governor and endorsed by the conference will be submitted at the approaching session of the legislature. When a mob impends it gives the governor power to act without waiting for a request from local authorities. It creates a state grand jury to inquire in to mob crimes, its expenses to be borne by the offending county. A state official is designated whose duty it shall be to inquire into the conduct of local officers where mob violence has occurred, and where such officials are reported derelict the governor is empowered to remove them from office.

These measures, however, the conference holds to be merely palliative. It calls for more and better education for whites and blacks, and urges the churches to add religious to secular education. The distribution of school money in proportion to taxes paid is declared "undemocratic and unjust;" and a fair distribution of school funds is called for. The report is signed by men and women who are leaders in the state.

—From Report of Georgia Conf. on Racial Relations.

INTER-RACIAL MEETING AT ALLEN TEMPLE A SUCCESS.

Atlanta Independent 8/25/21

The meeting held at Allen Temple Sunday, August 21, was a great success.

A splendid aggregation of young talent from both races presented a very pleasing and interesting Inter-racial program.

The program was as follows:

"Methods that should be used to bring about better feelings between the races," J. N. Brightwell.

"Influences at work to counteract better understanding of the races," A. D. Blackburn.

"The work of the Anti-Tuberculosis Association among both races," Mis Katty L. Kelly.

"The program and possibilities of the young men's Inter-racial committee," Rev. Graham F. Campbell.

"The church and social services," Miss V. B. Hodges.

"Treatment accorded colored people on Atlanta street cars," N. E. White.

Mr. White after presenting this subject and telling why such unfair conditions obtained suggested the following remedies:

1. As in many southern cities have white and black alike go in rear door and out the front, thus saving time and inconvenience to all concerned.

2. To teach children of both races how to act toward each other in public conveyances.

3. That the pulpit of both races should present the street car issue to its various congregations, thus awakening consciences.

4. Any conductor found guilty of brasque, unpolite treatment to be dismissed from the service at once.

5. An exclusive bus line operated by colored capitalists.

6. Buy a car of your own and escape jim-crowism from street car service.

Several musical renditions were given:

Solos by Misses Callie Washburn and Hazel Dawson; Recitation from Dunbar by Miss Minnie Lee Perry; Good singing throughout the meeting was furnished by the League chorus of which Mr. C. L. Gideon is director.

The attendance at this meeting was large. Everybody left highly impressed with the program rendered

SOUTHERN WOMEN FIGHT LYNCHING

Committee in Atlanta Finds No Extenuation for Crime or Mob Violence.

N Y C TIMES SEPTEMBER 11, 1921

DENY IT PROTECTS THEM

They Point Out It Hits Constitutional Authority and Ask for One Standard of Morals.

Special to The New York Times.

ATLANTA, Ga., Sept. 9.—"We find in our hearts no extenuation for crime, be it violation of womanhood, mob violence, or the illegal taking of human life," declares a statement just issued by a special section of the Georgia State Committee on Inter-Racial Co-operation, composed entirely of women, which has just been organized here to banish all groups which would take into their own hands the execution of justice and to set up a single standard of morals both in the white and the colored races.

This appeal condemns the protection of womanhood by criminal methods, asserting "if there is any crime more dangerous than another, it is that crime that strikes at the root of and undermines constituted authority, breaks all laws and restraints of civilization, substitutes mob violence and masked irresponsibility for established justice and deprives society of a sense of protection against barbarism."

Resolutions adopted at the organization meeting outline the scope of the committee's activities and acknowledge the responsibility of sharing with all good citizens "the duty of emphasizing and perpetuating the ideals of our fathers in the founding of this commonwealth in wisdom, justice and moderation."

Then follows the appeal to the public at large to uphold public officials in the discharge of their duties, "to recognize the forces which are undermining our life, and speedily to banish self-constituted groups and agencies which presume to usurp authority, set aside the dignity of the law and constitute themselves the prosecutors, jurors, judges and executioners of suspected criminals."

"We have a deep sense of appreciation for the chivalry of men who would give their lives for the purity and safety of women," they declare. "Yet we feel constrained to declare our convictions concerning the methods sometimes employed in this supposed protection. We find in our hearts no extenuation for crime, be it violation of womanhood, mob violence or the illegal taking of human life.

"We are convinced that if there is any one crime more dangerous than another, it is that crime which strikes at the root of, and undermines constituted authority, breaks all laws and restraints of civilization, substitutes mob violence and masked irresponsibility for established justice and deprives society of a sense of protection against barbarism.

"Therefore, we believe that no falser appeal can be made to Southern manhood than that mob violence is necessary for the protection of womanhood, or that the brutal practice of lynching and burning of human beings is an expression of chivalry. We believe that these methods are no protection to anything or anybody, but that they jeopardize every right and every security that we possess.

"The double standard of morals which society passively permits is rapidly producing results that imperil the future integrity of our national life and we are persuaded that this problem can never be solved as long as there is a double standard for men and women of any race. We appeal for the creation of a public sentiment which will no longer submit to this condition, and declare ourselves for the protection of womanhood of whatever race.

"We are convinced that if there is ever to be a solution of the race problem there must be an intensive and sustained campaign to instruct whites and negroes to respect both moral and civil law. Therefore, we recommend that all people give themselves to a definite study of these vital matters relating to justice and righteousness and that the press, pulpit, platform and school endeavor to lead public thought in bringing about a state of public opinion that will compel the protection of the purity of both races."

Among the women in the newly organized body are: Mrs. A. W. Lawton of Savannah, who is Chairman of the special woman's section; Mrs. W. A. Turner of Newnan, Secretary; Mrs. Samuel M. Inman, Mrs. Emily McDougall, Mrs. J. H. McEachern, Mrs. Beaumont Davison, Miss Rosa Woodberry, Mrs. C. N. Downey, Mrs. W. A. Albright, Mrs. W. Frank Smith, Mrs. Archibald Davis, Mrs. M. Ashby Jones, Mrs. H. C. Phipps of Atlanta, Mrs. W. J. Neel of Cartersville, Mrs. Z. I. Fitzpatrick of Thomasville,, Mrs. Lindsay Arrington and Mrs. W. M. Rowland of Augusta, Mrs. C. C. Hinton of Macon, Mrs. T. J. Woofter of Athens, Mrs. Hazen Smith of La Grange and Mrs. Luke Johnson of Griffin.

COLORED WOMEN HOLD SUCCESSFUL MEETING

The Atlanta Constitution 9-25-21 9/25/21

The conference of colored women, held in Atlanta at Gammon Theological seminary during the past week under the auspices of the women's auxiliary of the Southern Presbyterian church came to a close yesterday after a most successful series of meetings.

Mrs. W. C. Winsboro, of St. Louis, who presided over the conference, expressed the greatest satisfaction over the results of the sessions, which have had for their aim the advancement, spiritually and economically, of the negro women of the south.

Fifty-nine negro women delegates were in attendance from five states and thirty-nine cities and towns. This is the largest representation ever in attendance at one of these conferences, of which there have been several in the past few years.

Many notable addresses were delivered during the meeting and an interesting feature was the demonstration of economic measures for the woman in the home.

In addition to many helpful talks made by prominent white friends of the negro, there was an address by President Moton, of Tuskegee.

As an expression of gratitude for what the Presbyterian auxiliary is doing for their race, the delegates presented a purse to Mrs. Winsboro, which was turned over to Gammon seminary for a scholarship fund.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Race Relations Meetings

Kansas

THE INTER-RACIAL ASSOCIATION.

Kansas City Sun 4-23-31

Too much cannot be said in praise of the work outlined and being prosecuted by the Inter-racial Association of Kansas City, Kas.

Its purpose is to develop harmony between the races and promote a better understanding of the achievements, aspirations and thought of the Negro. It was organized about three months ago, being called by the Rev. G. Franklin Ream, pastor of the Washington Boulevard Methodist Church. It is composed of an equal number of members of the two races and all committees are similarly composed. It is inspiring to see the calibre of men of both races who leave their work once each month and commit themselves without reservation, earnestly and with the idea of constructive work uppermost.

At a meeting last Tuesday night the general topic for discussion was "Knowledge the Races Should Have of Each Other." Papers were read by Mr. G. B. Buster, Superintendent, M. W. Pearson and Mr. C. W. Crews, all of which were highly illuminating and provoked discussion.

It would be a splendid idea for Kansas City, Missouri, to follow this splendid lead for there are undeniably problems of a delicate and very intricate nature which require just such an organization to solve. Here's hoping.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Race Relations
Meetings

Illinois

Inter-Racial Conditions in Chicago

Survey 1/15/21

Recommendations made by Howard R. Gold and Byron K. Armstrong on the basis of a preliminary study made under the Survey Division, Industrial Relations Department, of the Interchurch World Movement of North America, published by the Home Missions Council, New York city

The organized church forces of Chicago, white and Negro, might alleviate the race situation by three forms of activities:

1. EDUCATIONAL PUBLICITY AND ACTION TO INFLUENCE COMMUNITY AGENCIES:

A program of education among both racial groups in every neighborhood setting forth the facts—social, economic, psychological.

Denounce the artificial distinctions based upon prejudice, selfishness and hatred. A recognition of racial unlikeness should not be made a basis for racial antagonism. The recognition of racial likenesses should be a basis for inter-racial cooperation.

Encourage a fair-minded attitude of the newspapers.

Secure adequate police protection; especially against the bombing outrage.

In housing, recommend to the city and private agencies: thorough supervision of dilapidated Negro districts; rebuilding of deteriorated houses; development of new districts; encouragement of building and loan societies and cooperative housing projects.

Educate, especially the newly arrived Negro, to the best standards of economic life.

2. INDUSTRIAL MATTERS:

Produce vocational training and guidance for the colored youths and urge upon all workers regularity and efficiency.

Prevail on employers to offer the same opportunities to white and Negro workers in the more desirable occupations and in working conditions.

Induce labor unions to assist the Negro into full apprenticeship and tradesmen's rights.

Cooperate with efficient employment bureaus.

3. COMMUNITY INTERESTS:

Induce the city to install adequate recreational facilities in the Negro districts; to keep all departments for health and sanitation at a high point of efficiency.

Coordinate the activities of such agencies as the Urban League, the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., Community Service, and encourage new agencies only when it is clearly seen that existing ones are not adequate to meet necessary discovered needs.

The colored churches are now the centers of many activities; they can become still more effective. Trained directors of social and recreational activities might well be employed. An organization of such workers could conduct a training school for volunteers.

The city could be districted or "zoned." There could be a careful distribution of employment offices and other helpful work allotted to congregations and denominations throughout each zone or district. Detailed recommendations along this line have already been considered by one denomination.

A constant campaign of education in public morals, sanitation, health, standards of living should be promoted.

Suggestions for any given church: The membership should be organized in clubs of fifty to one hundred men, women, boys and girls; clubs to be organized of members in same or near blocks, keeping in mind social, occupational and other groupings. Leaders should be selected for ability to conduct recreational, educational and leisure time activities. A club council to be made up of leaders. An employed trained director to have charge of these activities, working through the club council. Additional trained workers should be engaged as required. The church choir director could readily lead a community chorus. The church's program should be related to the community program as a whole.

RACE COMMISSION REPORTS TO GOVERNOR LOWDEN.

Times Plaindealer 1/27/21

(By Associated Negro Press.)

Chicago, Jan. 20.—The Chicago Race Commission, appointed by Governor Lowden immediately after the Chicago riot, made its final report to the governor prior to the close of his term of office.

The research and field work done by the staff of investigators covered a broad range. The character is indicated by a bare outline of the work in the six main fields:

Racial Clashes: 1919 Chicago Riot; Seventeen antecedent clashes; three minor clashes in 1920; brief comparative study of Springfield riot in 1916 and East St. Louis in 1917.

Racial Contact: In schools, transportation lines, parks and other recreation places; contact in mixed neighborhoods; adjustment of Southern Negro families coming to Chicago; survey of Negro Agencies and institutions.

Housing: Negro areas in Chicago and their expansion 1910-1920, 274 family histories showing housing experience, home life and social background; including families from the South; 159 blocks covered in neighborhood survey; financing Negro housing; depreciation in and near Negro areas; 52 house bombings 1917-1920.

Industry: Data covering 22,448 Negroes in 192 plants; 101 plants visited; quality of Negro labor; the widening opportunities and chance for promotion studied; special study of trade unions and the Negro worker.

Crime: Police statistics of arrests and convictions—Negroes and selected nationalities compared and analyzed for six years; also juvenile court cases; 698 cases one month; in three police courts studied including detailed social data on Negro cases; also 249 sex cases (two years) in criminal court; records of eleven penal institutions; environmental survey of Negro areas.

Public Opinion: Files of white and Negro newspapers studied to analyze handling of matters relating to race relations; study of rumor and its effects, and of racial propaganda of white and Negro organizations.

Governor Lowden complimented the Commission on the results achieved, and said he looked forward with the public to seeing a full report of the investigations. Gov. Lowden has not expressed his attitude with reference to the Commission, but it is known that he is an advocate of equal and exact justice.

BAHAI CONVENTION PROMISES SOLUTION OF RACE PROBLEM

Post Examiner News, 5-26-21

(By The Associated Negro Press)

Chicago, Ill., May 23.—The Bahai convention which held its annual sessions in this city last week, gives promise of the solution of the race problem and all others in relation to human brotherhood in a very happy way. The sessions began with the Rizwan banquet in the Auditorium hotel. It was largely attended by delegates and visiting friends representing all sections of America and many countries of the world. At the tables, giving signs of great amity and concord, were seen Orientals and Occidentals, Northerners and Southerners, white and colored, and representatives of all the great religions.

This event presented a deep significance and a power of attraction. It was due to the influence of Abdul Baha, the servant of God and the center of the Bahai movement. This great movement in religion, ethics and social reform was founded by his illustrious father, Baha O'llah, who spent forty years of his eventful life in Orinetal prisons in order to free humanity from the chains and shackles of prejudice. His principles are broad and universal, presenting a far reaching program for world peace and brotherhood.

The sessions of the convention covered five or six days. Iits business was devoted largely to plans for the Mashrek ol Azkar, the great temple whose foundations are now being laid on the shore of Lake Michigan. This edifice will be unique both as to form and purpose. It will have nine sides and a great dome. It's symetrical and beautiful form will combine all existing forms of architecture, outwarly symbolic of unity. It will welcome for worship people of all laces, colors and creeds. Its great basic principle, as stated by Abdul Baha, is "Prejudice towadr none, love for all." Its estimated cost will be more than one million dollars.

The educational and religious sessions of the Congress were addressed by many distinguished speakers, representing Europe and Africa, South America and Japan, the Near East, Canada, Persia and all parts of the United States. Some of the subjects presented and received with great approval, were: "The Universal House of Worship for Today," "The Independent Investigation of Truth," "The Conformity of religion and science," "The Oneness of Humanity," and others.

The colored race was well represented among the delegates and on the program, the address of the colored speaker, a lawyer from Washington, being received with applause and enthusiasm.

It is intereting to note that the Bahais are sending teachers to all sections of America and ta all parts of the world to give all peoples a clear understanding of their enlightened principles. They do not ask people to abandon their faith but rather to practice the basic principles of religion so long forgotten. This will abolish warfare and strife, harmonize all elements, and establish the "Most Great Peace." It is the renewal of the spirit of true religion.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

Robert T. Kerlin

Race Relations — 1921

PROFESSOR KERLIN'S DISMISSAL.

Houston Informer 9/3/21

The summary ousting of Professor R. T. Kerlin from the faculty of Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, Va., by the board, because of his activities for justice for colored Americans, is genuinely regretted by the colored press and brings more discredit upon "ole Virginny" than it does upon this distinguished white educator.

For a number of years Professor Kerlin has held down the chair of English at this military institution, which is supported by both the state and federal governments.

He first came into prominence with his book, "The Voice of the Negro," which is a compilation of editorials from colored publications throughout the country. He is also a member of the Virginia Inter-Racial Commission.

He stated that his real motive in publishing such a work was to give his race a glimpse into the real life of the black man—his hopes, aims, achievements and aspirations, as portrayed by editors of ebony hue; to acquaint the American white man, particularly of the South, with the most fertile and advanced brains of colored group in America.

This production, which has been commented upon from many quarters, was not the sum total of Prof. Kerlin's labors on behalf of a downtrodden and despised people.

His many contributions to journals and publications, dealing with the race question, always possessed a ring of true Americanism and genuine democracy—the sole theme and central thought being a fair and square deal for all American citizens.

Some few weeks ago he had the backbone and hardihood to address an open letter to the governor of Arkansas, urging that the condemned Elaine rioters, who were forced to testify against themselves under duress and contrary to bill of rights, be given a stay of execution and a gubernatorial investigation be made of the riot charges and conduct of the original trials.

In this open letter the Virginia educator availed himself of the opportunity to denounce peonage as it exists in the Helena section of Arkansas and made several other uncomplimentary remarks concerning the species of Hunnish "kultur" so rampant in the Razorback state.

While every statement made by Prof. Kerlin was the bare truth, and, while investigations have substantiated his charges in the main, the man who essays to speak the truth in the South regarding Southern injustice and inequalities simply serves in the martyr role.

Truth will eventually get a hearing. Its triumph may be delayed, but all the powers of earth and hell can not stay its day.

For writing this open letter the board asked Prof. Kerlin to tender his resignation, instanter. When he refused to obey their decree, resolutions were passed by the board and his summary dismissal occurred.

The Informer regrets that this unpleasant situation has arisen; not because the dismissed educator espoused the cause of the colored race; but rather because he championed the cause of social justice and human rights. These transcend racial and religious rights, for "man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands moan."

The board truly reckoned without their hosts, if they believed that by peremptorily discharging Prof. Kerlin they would place unsurmountable barriers in the pathway of truth, right and justice.

The forces of right are cosmic and no earthly power nor human instrumentality can thwart or block the onward march of these unseen and intangible forces.

It has been tried very unsuccessfully from time immemorial and all those who have attempted it have met with dismal failure, while the "cause goes marching on."

Prof. Kerlin and his tribe have planted the seed and by all laws of God and his handiwork, nature, these seeds are going to germinate into a mammoth plant and many will seek rest, shelter and solace beneath their expanding and protecting wings.

The old autocratic dictum and decree, "The king can do no wrong," certainly is not applicable to our American life; and that man who dares to oppose tyranny, high-handed injustice, rank and willful discrimination, unwarranted and uncalled oppression and repression and divers abortions of justice and fair play—while often standing alone and contending against superior forces like Horatius at the Tiber's bridge—is well within his constitutional rights and though evil-doers and the wicked may slay him, posterity will rise up and call him blessed.

"Truth forever on the scaffold,
Wrong forever on the throne;
Yet that scaffold sways the future,
And behind the dim unknown
Standeth God within the shadow;
Keeping watch above his own."

The Discharge of Colonel Kerlin

HAS it come to pass in Virginia that a man must choose between the God-given right of free speech and his job? Has it come to pass that an educator engaging in teaching Virginia youth in a school usually so broad-minded and progressive as the Virginia Military Institute must confine his vision to the pages of his textbooks or within the walls of his study room, daring not to raise his voice in protest when he believes a great wrong is being done to a people still in the infancy of their freedom or to aid in the solution of a racial problem that has rocked this nation to its foundations?

It seems such a pass has been reached. For one man did so dare, and today he finds himself without a position discharged from his professorship at the Virginia Military Institute when he courageously refused to quit on request of the board of visitors.

The man is Colonel Robert T. Kerlin. His offense consisted of writing a letter to Governor McRae, of Arkansas, protesting against the treatment of negro defendants following the Elaine riots. His protest was based on constitutional grounds as well as upon those of a broad humanitarianism. He did no more than voice what was in the minds and hearts of far-seeing men and women of both the North and the South, who envisage racial conditions and conflicts above and beyond sporadic local outbreaks when inflamed minds engulf better judgment.

Colonel Kerlin's offense in the eyes of the board of visitors lies in having "reflected upon the administration of justice in that State (Arkansas) and those upon whom the solemn duty rests of enforcing the laws therein." Thereby he has, the board believes, "rendered his further connection with the Virginia institute undesirable," in that it would "prove harmful and detrimental thereto and embarrassing to those responsible for its conduct."

The country at large needs the courageously spoken words of such men as Colonel Kerlin, who has studied the conditions which he and thousands of others seek to ameliorate. It particularly needs them from Virginia, where interracial relations are close to the ideal. States to the south of us and States to the north of us are looking to Virginia for guidance in the handling of the delicate race problem, for here, more than in any other State, it has ceased to be a problem. And now Virginia, through one of its famed institutions, answers the call for guidance by discharging one of its educators who is fitted to lead, but who dared to insist on justice regardless of color.

Unless there be reasons for the board's action which have not been given to the public, it must be pronounced narrow and provincial, altogether unworthy of that broad and kindly leadership of Virginia among the States. There is danger that it will undo much that has been done in the promotion of interracial harmony and good understanding.

SPARTANBURG S C JOURNAL
AUGUST 24, 1921

COLONEL KERLIN OF THE V.M.I.

We do not know the facts in the case. The National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People in New York has sent out a report that Colonel Robert T. Kerlin, Professor in the Virginia Military Institute, at Lexington, had been expelled from that institution by the Board of Visitors because he had written a letter to the Governor of Arkansas protesting against what he termed the unjust sentences of death pronounced upon negroes for taking part in the riots at Elaine, Arkansas, two years ago. The N. A. A. C. P. says in its report that the Board of Visitors adopted resolutions declaring that "Professor Kerlin's further connection with it (the V. M. I.) would be detrimental to its welfare because of the letter he had written." It is further stated that when Colonel Kerlin refused to resign "his services were abruptly terminated" by the Board. According to further dispatches, Westmoreland Davis, Governor of Virginia, graduate of the V. M. I. and ex-officio Chairman of the Board of Visitors, had received no papers bearing upon the matter and would not discuss it in any way, and that General Nichols, Superintendent of the V. M. I., had refused to discuss the matter or to be quoted at all.

We do not know the facts. We have thought from brief acquaintance that Colonel Kerlin was a very sensible and proper sort of person, respected by his associate teachers and straight on the question of ra-

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cial equality. We were told yesterday by one of the recent graduates of the Institute that there was a good deal of talk at the recent finals about a book Colonel Kerlin wrote advocating race equality, but of the book he had no knowledge and he had not been advised of any action that had been taken in Colonel Kerlin's case. There must be some explanation of the matter other than that contained in the report sent out by the Negro Society in New York. Colonel Kerlin was a Methodist minister, we believe, at one time, was one of the Committee appointed by the Church to assemble its book of praise, and is gifted with rare talent in writing and teaching. If it be true that he stands for racial equality the Board of Visitors of the V. M. I. should have kicked him out "body, soul and breeches;" if he wrote a letter to the Governor of Arkansas protesting against the judgments of the Courts of that State in the case of the negroes who killed a number of the law-abiding people of that State, he should have been warned that he could not use his connection with an institution of a friendly Commonwealth to impress the Governor of Arkansas with the weight of his views.

Of one thing, however, the friends of the V. M. I. all over this country and wherever its fame has gone throughout the earth may depend upon is this: The man at the head of the Institute, General E. W. Nichols, will see that no injustice is done to Colonel Kerlin and at the same time that the great school of citizen and soldier which he directs shall not suffer the shame of disloyalty to its mission and its people.

LITTLE ROCK ARK. GAZETTE
AUGUST 24, 1921

PUNISHMENT FOR KERLIN.

Prof. Robert T. Kerlin has been dismissed from the faculty of the Virginia Military Institute because of the letter he wrote to Governor McRae concerning the cases of the negroes sentenced to death for participation in the riots at Elaine, Ark., in 1919. Announcement of the dismissal of Kerlin came from New York through the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and sets forth that he was expelled because "he wrote an open letter to the governor of Arkansas protesting against what he termed the unjust sentences" pronounced on these negroes.

Kerlin was guilty of gross misconduct. In his letter to the governor of Arkansas he accused the courts and the people of Arkansas of lawlessness, he accused the farmers of the state of robbery and the crime of peonage, he denied that the negroes instigated the riot at Elaine, he upheld the Progressive Farmers and Household Union, the organization that brought on the insurrection, and he maintained that the negroes armed only in self-defense.

The most charitable action possible would result in the dismissal of Kerlin for lack of judgment. Certainly a man so lacking should not be allowed to teach young men. It would be unjust to think that Kerlin was guilty of deliberate misrepresentation. The only other conclusion is that he accepted as truth the hundreds of misstatements that have gotten into the Northern press because of vicious propaganda concerning the insurrection at Elaine and rejected as false the statements of officials and leading men of Arkansas.

VIRGINIAN (Lynchburg)
SEPTEMBER 2, 1921

INTOLERANCE

Professor Robert T. Kerlin, white, until recently professor of English in the Virginia Military Institute at Lexington, Va., was forced to resign by members of the Board of Visitors for speaking too frankly on the race question.

Professor Kerlin believed that the courts of Arkansas erred in condemning several colored men to death for alleged participation in the so called Elaine Riots and said so. Whereupon the Visitors of the Institute alarmed at such independence of thot and expression called for his resignation.

While the Elaine letter of Professor Kerlin's is mentioned by the Board of Visitors as the reason for their action, we believe it to be the "excuse" rather than the "first cause."

The Virginia professor was to use his own words the son of an entirely Confederate family, was born and reared in Virginia and loves the South. With this background, had he become a "colonel," excused the South, or its lynchings, defended the South's injustices and prated to his scholars of the glory of Virginia "befo de wah," he would have held down the professorship in the Institute for life.

Instead he made his one great mistake here. For he wrote a book last year called the "Voice of the Negro," which consists altogether of selected clippings from colored newspapers, designed to show what the colored man thot about the war, and wrote a number of letters to various colored papers thruout the country commending them for editorial expressions.

sions.

Professor Kerlin picked up an epistolary acquaintance with the AFRO-AMERICAN and developed a warm regard for the late Lucian B. Watkins, Baltimore's best poet. At Watkins' death, Mr. Kerlin became his literary testator.

All of these circumstances together were too much for the managers of the Virginia Military Institute and so they acted.

Not many months ago a white woman teacher in a Virginia school was dismissed because she taught that intermarriage of the races was in accord with natural law. Prof. Kerlin's case brings a second instance of Southern academic intolerance to the fore, which is a rather high percentage for one year.

COL. KERLIN STILL STANDS FOR RIGHT

The Cleveland Call 9/17/21

Will Remain in South, if Possible, to Champion Equality of Justice

(By The Associated Negro Press)

LEXINGTON, Va., Oct. 1—Col. Robert T. Kerlin, former professor of English, Virginia Military Institute, who was summarily dismissed by the Board of Governors, for exercising his constitutional right of freedom of speech, has issued an exclusive statement for The Associated Negro Press. In his statement Col. Kerlin praises the newspapers for their generous response of service and good will. He declares that the editorial expressons from our newspapers "go to my heart to cheer and strengthen it."

Col. Kerlin declares that he was never happier, and "that instead of being defeated I have only begun to fight," and he will continue to labor for justice in the South.

The complete statement follows:

"Never was there a more instantaneous and generous response to any act of service than your papers have given to mine, simple as it was. That response has been not only instantaneous and generous, but enthusiastic and eloquent in expressions of gratitude and praise. It makes me wonder what your press would do were some real hero to appear and do something really great. I have before me perhaps twenty editorials from your press that would do credit to any press on this globe. They go to my heart to cheer and strengthen it, and they touch it to softness, too. What man cannot put force into his blows in a righteous and humane cause when he is so cheered on, when so many grateful eyes are turned upon him, when so many hopes are fixed on him.

"Now, as for myself and my plans. Never was I happier or more elated, though put out of position and home, with nothing assured as to the future. My moral victory is of the first order. And there is really no other kind of victory in this world. All else is delusion. God and one good, brave man (though I don't pretend to be more than moderately good and brave) are always victors, whatever the appearances. Henceforth my confidence in God will be absolute. I have learned how to trust Him and be triumphant.

"From this you will perceive that instead of being defeated I have only begun to fight. And fight I will, with that one weapon I can wield—my pen—which is mightier than the swords of all the tyrants who ever sought to throttle freedom and enslave men's minds. The fighting henceforth will be glorious. How many valiant souls have rallied to me! Men and women, the elect of earth, of every walk and calling in life, in every part of the land, have risen up and assured me of their admiration, support and loyalty. Old friends and new and absolute strangers have flooded me with messages that have warmed my heart and nerved my soul. Of course, therefore, you know my plan. It is to remain here in the South, if I can secure a maintenance here for my family, and fight the good fight on the field where it was begun and where the victory must be. There is nothing important but this.

"I cannot close without saying that The Associated Negro Press has done a splendid piece of news distributing and that Mr. Detwiller has rendered by his story a distinct service to the country."

N. Y. C. POST
SEPTEMBER 2, 1921

The Case of Col. Kerlin

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK EVENING POST:

SIR: Further information is now at hand concerning the dismissal of Col. Robert T. Kerlin from Virginia Military Institute for requesting the Governor of Arkansas to review the cases of six negro farmers, unjustly, as Col. Kerlin and many other persons believe, condemned to death. Col. Kerlin had offered to submit to the board a statement concerning his activity in inter-racial matters—which should have been superfluous to any one who had read his book, "The Voice of the Negro"—but the Board of Visitors at that time declined to hear him.

To his request that the board receive a letter putting his communication to the Governor of Arkansas in its proper setting, the board replied in a resolution saying: "The board is unanimously of the opinion that the views on and activities of Col. Kerlin in inter-racial relations in the South are not pertinent nor relevant to this issue before the board." Your readers will recall that the Board of Visitors of Virginia Military Institute, in their later resolution dismissing Col. Kerlin, spoke of his letter to the Governor of Arkansas, and added parenthetically, "in which connection the board has considered his general activities in inter-racial matters." It will be seen that matters which are not pertinent to an issue before the Board of Visitors of Virginia Military Institute may yet be dragged into a resolution dismissing a professor with a record of long and distinguished service.

Those who desire to see Col. Kerlin thoroughly sustained and vindicated might begin by questioning the fitness of a board which has so contradicted itself as has the Board of Visitors of Virginia Military Institute.

HERBERT I. SELIGMAN.

New York, August 29.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Race Relation - 1921.

Robert T. Kerlin

SOUTH SEES DANGER IN COL. KERLIN

Chicago Defender

Southerners Show Weakness on Race Issue by Expelling Professor

9/3/21

Richmond, Va., Sept. 2.—When Prof. Robert T. Kerlin of the Virginia Military Institute was dismissed from that institution the lie about white Southerners being the friends of the Race was exposed and a true friend was subjected to a nauseating and shameful treatment of that same prejudice which he had fought against.

Col. Kerlin

Col. Kerlin was dismissed, according to a resolution adopted by the board of visitors of the institution where he was professor of English, because of his interposition in behalf of the six men condemned to die in connection with the Arkansas riots at Elaine some months ago. The directors maintained that his recent work, with its bearing on inter-racial relations, had tended to show that the professor was out of sympathy with the strongest aims, purposes and disposition of the institution. Reference was made to the fact that the public which supports the school viewed with no little disdain Col. Kerlin's desire to force the sham out of Southern race relations.

Board Met in Secret

The inquiry into the activities of the deposed member of the faculty was conducted with the utmost secrecy in the Hotel Richmond. Two days and nights the deliberations continued. Rumors had spread in various circles that the question of the dismissal of Mr. Kerlin was being discussed. Since his espousal of the cause of the Race a growing coldness toward him and his work by both teachers and students at the institute had been in evidence.

Whereas in former years members of the faculty had met and counseled with the professor of English, his recent revelation of the sinister and malign tendencies of South race prejudice and his effort to show in its true light the worth of the people who are being persecuted had resulted in a sort of social and professional ostracism. For some months he had lived a sort of martyr to the cause which he had taken up with no thought of gain save that which came from seeing justice done. Some of his closest friends are said to have strongly objected to the public stand which he took. He showed the same courage in supporting his views that he had shown years ago as a soldier in defense of the stricken Cubans.

Born in 1866, he had been instructor in English at the Virginia Military Institute since 1910. He had attended many schools, holding the degree of M. A. from Central College, Missouri, credit for work at Johns Hopkins University, the University of Chicago, Harvard, and a Ph. D. degree from Yale in 1906.

Wrote Books on Race

He served as a Methodist minister from 1895 to 1898 and was a chaplain in the Third Regiment, Missouri Volunteers, in the Spanish-American War. He is the author of many books, notably "The Voice of the Negro," published last year. It is a comprehensive treatment of the Race press and its value to the public which it serves. He made extensive surveys after the riots in 1919 and published nationwide his opinions as to their causes. His interest had not been limited to the persecution which the Race receives. With equal thoroughness he tackled the problem of putting before the public the advancement which the Race has made in educational matters. Race poetry received special treatment at his hands, and excerpts from a sympathetic and interpretative booklet he wrote were printed in the Southern Workman. He is the secretary of the Virginia Society for the Advancement of Education.

Text of Resolution

The full text of the resolution dismissing Prof. Kerlin follows:

"Whereas, It is the opinion of the board that Col. Kerlin, by reason of his interposition in the Elaine insurrection cases, as exemplified by his letter to the governor of Arkansas reflecting upon the administration of justice in that state, and those upon whom the solemn duty rests of enforcing the laws therein (in which connection the board has considered his general activities in inter-racial matters), has rendered his further connection with the Virginia Military Institute undesirable and his retention of professorship, instead of promoting the beneficial ends for which the institute was established, would prove harmful and detrimental thereto and embarrassing to those responsible for its conduct and management, and prejudicial to the interests which it is their duty to guard and protect; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the board of visitors of the Virginia Military Institute are unanimously of the opinion that the usefulness of Col. Robert T. Kerlin at the Virginia Military Institute has ceased, and that his further connection therewith as professor would be detrimental to its welfare, and therefore his immediate resignation is hereby requested and the secretary is requested to forthwith hand to Col. Kerlin a copy of this resolution."

Subsequently the following resolution was adopted:

"Whereas, Col. Kerlin has replied to the aforesaid resolution by refusing to resign as therein requested, therefore his employment as professor at the Virginia Military Institute is hereby immediately terminated, his salary, nevertheless, to be paid him until January 1, 1922, or until such time prior thereto as he shall have accepted other employment.

(Signed) "LEWIS E. STEELE,
"Secretary of the Board."

MR. MILHOLLAND'S LETTER

247 Fifth Ave., New York.
August 24, 1921.

Col. Robert T. Kerlin,
Virginia Military Institute,
Lexington, Va.
My dear Sir:

9/3/21

All I know about your case is contained in this article from "The New York Evening Post", but it is enough to make any real American citizen gasp in astonishment that such a thing could happen in this year of our Lord nineteen hundred and twenty-one! It seems incredible. That it has happened, and that without the country rising up in rebellious indignation saddens the reflective mind. But I find consolation in the thought that our people do not yet realize what has really been done.

A few weeks ago I talked with President Harding about that proposed Commission to inquire into the whole Colored question. He manifested the greatest interest in the subject, and is anxious to do something—something practical and of real value. I agreed to make some suggestions in regard to the personnel. There is no trouble about getting first class men from the North to undertake the job, but I am concerned about Southern representatives.

Two men loomed up above the Dixie horizon recently that give me joy—yourself and Governor Dorsey of Georgia. You have met this wild spirit of race prejudice where it required courage of the highest order to confront it. I mean right at home. Scorning the consequences of your action you both have quietly accepted what might be termed the immediately inevitable result of your actions with a serene assurance that a reaction against this unreasoning spirit, this un-American spirit, this uncivilized, un-Christian spirit was bound to come, and when it does come your position will be as completely vindicated as was that of Abraham Lincoln on Slavery or Secession.

I do not know whether you or Governor Dorsey would accept a place on this Commission; I don't know that Pres. Harding would appoine either of you, I speak without any actual commitments having been made; but I do know that should you be willing to serve, it will be my pleasure to make the suggestion to him whatever be his action in the premises.

This, at least, is what one American citizen thinks of your manly course and humane appeal, and I am presumptuous enough, yes optimistic enough in regard to the real spirit of this Nation to think that I typify the feelings of more than ninety per cent of the real American people—North, South, East and West.

Meanwhile if I can do anything further to show my appreciation of your courage and your love of fair play, please command me.

Sincerely yours,
(Signed) JNO. E. MILHOLLAND.

The Discharge of Colonel Kerlin

Journal & Guide 9/3/21

(Richmond Times-Dispatch)

Has it come to pass in Virginia that a man must choose between the God-given right of free speech and his job? Has it come to pass that an educator engaging in teaching Virginia youth in a school usually so broad-minded and progressive as the Virginia Military Institute must confine his vision to the pages of his text-books or within the walls of his study room, daring not to raise his voice in protest when he believes a great wrong is being done to a people still in the infancy of their freedom, or to aid in the solution of a racial problem that has rocked this nation to its foundations?

It seems such a pass has been reached. For one man did so dare and today he finds himself without a position discharged from his professorship at the Virginia Military Institute when he courageously refused to quit on request of the board of visitors.

The man is Colonel Robert T. Kerlin. His offense consisted of writing a letter to Governor McRae, of Arkansas, protesting against the treatment of Negro defendants following the Elaine riots. His protest was based on constitutional grounds as well as upon those of a broad humanitarianism. He did no more than voice what was in the minds and hearts of far-seeing men and women of both the North and the South, who envisage racial conditions and conflicts above and beyond sporadic local outbreaks when inflamed mnids engulf better judgment.

Colonel Kerlin's offense in the eyes of the board of visitors lies in having "reflected upon the administration of justice in that State (Arkansas) and hose upon whom the solemn duty rests of enforcing the laws therein." Thereby he has, the board believes, "rendered his further connection with the Virginia Institute undesirable," in that it would "prove harmful and detrimental thereto and embarrassing to those responsible for its conduct."

The country at large needs the courageously spoken words of such men as Colonel Kerlin, who has studied the conditions which he and thousands of others seek to ameliorate. It particularly needs them from Virginia, where interracial relations are close to the ideal. States to the south of us and States to the north of us are looking to Virginia for guidance in the handling of the delicate race problem, for here, more than in any other State, it has ceased to be a problem. And now Virginia, through one of its famed institutions, answers the call for guidance by discharging one of its educators who is fitted to lead, but who dared to insist on justice regardless of color.

Unless there be reasons for the board's action which have not been given to the public, it must be pronounced narrow and provincial, altogether unworthy of that broad and kindly leadership of Virginia among the States. There is danger that it will undo much that has been done in the promotion of interracial harmony and good understanding.

THE EXPULSION OF PROF. KERLIN.

(The Nation, New York)

Norfolk Journal & Guide 9/10/21

No cruder exhibition of tin-pot administrative bigotry has disgraced our educational annals than the expulsion of Robert T. Kerlin from Virginia Military Institute. Colonel Kerlin's offense as inblushingly presented to him was that "by reason of his interposition in the Elaine insureceion cases as exemplified by his letter to the Governor of Arkansas, reflecting upon the adminstration of justice in that State . . ." he "had rendered his further connection with the Virginia Military Institute undesireable,

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

and that his retention of professorship instead of promoting the beneficial ends for which the institute was established would prove harmful and detrimental thereto." The letter in question (it was published in The Nation for June 15) was a noble, dignified, and inspiring appeal to conscience. It urged clemency for the wretched Negroes who, revolting against intolerable peonage and demanding merely their rights, found themselves caught in the mesh of rioting. The Nation does not feel that Professor Kerlin is entitled to any condolences—on the contrary, it is the Virginia Military Institute that suffers. He was far too big a mon for the place. What Southern institution will seize the opportunity to secure the services of this distinguished Southerner?

Crucifying Kerlin

Norfolk Journal & Guide 9/10/21

There is a type of Southerner from whom the South has already suffered too much. He is the man who loses his sense of justice and fair play when dealing with the race question. Fortunately his tribe is being decimated by the sound idealism and sweet reasonableness of our people, but now and then he asserts himself. That is what has happened in the dismissal of Col. Robert T. Kerlin from his professorship at the Virginia Military Institute of Lexington, Va., by that institution's board of visitors. He was dismissed, on the statement of the board itself, because he wrote a letter last May to Governor McRae of Arkansas asking mercy for the Negroes sentenced to be executed in June for their participation in the Elaine riots. The board based its extraordinary action on the ground that Colonel Kerlin, in suggesting to the Governor the advisability of an inquiry into the Negroes having had a fair or an unfair trial "reflected upon the administration of justice in Arkansas" and thereby rendered his connection with the V. M. I. "undesirable."

The excuse for the dismissal lays bare the board's true motive. Kerlin was dismissed because he courageously spoke out for the Negroes under sentence. He is an internationally recognized authority on the race question. His book on the subject is, in many ways, a classic. He has devoted enormous labor to a mastery of the facts connected with the relations between the whites and blacks in America. In seeking to deprive him of a living and to blight his name, the V. M. I. visitors invite the charge that they disapprove of such work as he has been doing. That is tragic enough. But there is still more to be regretted.

Put on one side all the work done by Northerners from the days of the "abolitionists" to the present time for the purpose of improving the Negro's lot—put all that together, and it is a mere trifle compared to what the South has done for the same cause. It has been accomplished by men like Kerlin. To crucify him, is to spread abroad a denial of one of the South's finest and most altruistic achievements. The V. M. I. visitors, in striking at Kerlin, have grievously assailed the South, not to mention stulifying themselves.—*Asheville Citizen.*

DORSEY SUGGESTED

Along With Prof. Kerlin for Harding's Commission on Race Problem.

Guardian 9/3/21

New York, Aug. 24, 1921.

Honorable R. M. Dorsey,
Governor of Georgia,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Governor:

I understand your recent expression of some tormenting truths about conditions in Georgia has aroused some opposition to you, and possibly subjected you to considerable annoyance.

My travels in the South enable me to know something about conditions there, and I think I know the rest of this country pretty well. Because I do, I feel entirely justified in saying that you deserve that which is yours—the appreciation of every fair-minded American citizen from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

I enclose a copy of the letter that I have just written Professor Kerlin of the Virginia Military Institute and I would like to repeat to you what I have already indicated to him, viz., whether you would be willing to accept a place on that Commission for the investigation of the whole race problem, should President Harding see his way clear to offer it to you, would you accept it?

The President asked me to suggest a few names and I have done so. One was Moorfield Story, formerly President of the American Bar Association and now President of the Association for the Advancement of Colored People. But Mr. Story pleads ill-health. His plea is well founded; so is the same plea put forth by General Pillsbury, the former well-known legal advisor of the State of Massachusetts, who is also interested in this problem.

The Commission will be a mixed one—Senators, congressmen, citizens; ladies and gentlemen.

I do not forget the splendid manner in which you treated my friend President De Valera of the Irish Republic when he visited your region a year and a half ago. At that time my old friend Tom Hardwick was in close touch with me, but he is hopeless on the Negro question.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) JNO. E. MILHOLLAND.

(For letter to Prof. Kerlin see another column of this issue.—Ed).

LEADING PAPERS OF STATE PROTEST

DISMISSAL OF PROFESSOR KERLIN

Journal & Guide 9/3/21

Strafing the Protester

(Norfolk Virginian-Pilot)

The Virginia Military Institute has added nothing to its prestige by dismissing from its faculty an instructor of eleven years standing because he ventured to remonstrate with the Governor of Arkansas against what he regarded as unjust sentences of death pronounced on six Negro rioters as an outgrowth of the Elaine, Ark., uprising of 1919.

The rioters may or may not have deserved to be punished by death, and Professor Kerlin may or may not be right in protesting against their execution—these were not the questions that the Institute's governing board was called upon to decide. They had only to ask themselves if a teacher in a Southern college is by his occupation debarred from giving utterance to his deep convictions in a matter unrelated to his tutorial duties, and on a subject commonly regarded in the South as unfit for public discussion. In effect, the board has ruled that he is debarred.

The jealous protectors of the Institute's fortunes are pained at Professor Kerlin's indelicate reflection on Arkansas' administration of justice and on those upon whom rests the solemn duty of enforcing the laws of that Commonwealth. They observe that it has rendered his further connection with the Virginia Military Institute "undesirable," and that his retention of professorship, "instead of promoting the beneficial ends for which the Institute was established, would prove harmful and detrimental thereto." Wherefore, Professor Kerlin, having declined to accept the board's invitation to resign, is declared fired.

If Professor Kerlin is by nature one of that pestiferous tribe that sees the Negro always in the role of an innocent victim of white prejudice, he is by nature an undesirable person to retain in a college faculty, North or South. Undergraduates drawing their conception of the race problem from so tainted a source are reasonably certain to suffer a permanent dwarfing of their judgment. But it seems that Professor Kerlin was not such a person. Educated in Southern colleges and further trained in the great universities of the West and North, there is reason to believe that he approached the race problem without bias. He had served in the Methodist ministry, had been an army chaplain in the Spanish-American War, had taught at the American Army University at Beaune, after the armistice, had written essays and poetry—had, in short, followed just such a varied intellectual life as would fit an individual of good moral character and sound understanding to discuss our major social problems without prejudice. Finally, he had taught acceptably at the Virginia Military Institute since 1910.

Such an individual had earned the right to call into question the decision of a tribunal in a matter of life and death, without being branded with the disgrace of dismissal by the college that employed him. He had studied the case which he undertook to discuss and had a right to speak his conscience. No question of discourtesy to Arkansas' administration of justice was involved. As well denounce Zola for impugning the justice of the French government with his fiery "J'accuse!" It is of more concern that the world shall always have its bold protestants, its scholarly challengers in the name of justice and truth, than that vested authorities he spared the embarrassment of having to modify their original judgments. No protester in the name of justice ever did a wrong to the innocent. The wrongs have all been perpetrated because protests and after-discovered evidence came too late to effect their rectification. The spectacle of a liberal institution of learning disciplining a teacher for daring to raise his voice in the defense of even a condemned criminal, is not a thing that inspires.

LETTER WRITING TEACHER OUSTED

LITTLE ROCK ARK. GAZETTE
AUGUST 23, 1921

Man Who Protested Against Arkansas Justice Expelled From V. M. I.

New York, Aug. 22.—Prof. Robert T. Kerlin of the Virginia Military Institute has been expelled from that institution because he wrote an open letter to the governor of Arkansas protesting against what he termed the "unjust" sentences of death pronounced on negroes in connection with the Elaine, Ark., riots in 1919, according to a statement issued by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The association today made public what purported to be a copy of the resolutions adopted by the Board of Visitors of the institute, declaring that Professor Kerlin's further connection with it would be detrimental to its welfare because of the letter he had written.

The resolutions, signed by Lewis E. Steele, secretary of the board, disclosed that Professor Kerlin had refused to resign when requested, and his services then were abruptly terminated. The association said the copy of the resolutions was sent to it by Professor Kerlin.

Kerlin's letter, written with apparently very little knowledge of the facts of the Elaine riots, was to the effect that sentence for the six who are now in the death cells should be delayed until final action had been taken on the six whose cases are now pending in the Phillips Circuit Court. The six now under sentence, and the six whose cases are pending, were involved in entirely different murders committed on different days.

HEAD OF SCHOOL SILENT

Declines to Discuss Dismissal of Meddlesome Pedagogue.

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Race Relations – 1921

Robert T. Kerlin.

The New York Age 4/17/21

DISCOURAGING

One of the most discouraging signs that has come to us of late is the dismissal of Professor Robert T. Kerlin from the faculty of the Virginia Military Institute. Professor Kerlin is a Southerner by birth and has been connected for years with this famous southern institution. For some time he has shown a deep interest in the Negro and has both spoken and written on the subject of fairer treatment for the colored people. Several years ago he made a study of the Negro press and published a very illuminating book entitled "The Voice of the Negro" in which he impressed upon the country the importance of hearing and understanding what the Negro was saying through his newspapers. Professor Kerlin has also shown great interest in the literary achievements of colored writers, especially poets.

But Professor Kerlin committed two unpardonable sins. Last June he wrote an open letter to the Governor of Arkansas asking him in the name of justice and humanity to review the cases of the six Negro farmers of Phillips County under sentence of death on account of the peonage riots. In the same month he also attended and addressed the annual conference of the N. A. A. C. P., at Detroit. Both of these acts aroused bitter criticism on the part of those connected with the Virginia Military Institute. The whole affair has resulted in the dismissal of Professor Kerlin. We say it is extremely discouraging to think that such an action would be taken in a state like Virginia by an educational institution.

KERLIN SOUGHT TO TEACH SOUTH BETTER HABITS

Is Not Race Lover; He Fights for Justice for Men of Every Condition

Chicago Defender 12/25/21

Richmond, Va., Dec. 16.—New revelations have just come to light in connection with the discharge of Prof. Robert T. Kerlin, one-time professor of English at the Virginia Military Institute. It will be recalled that he was forced to resign, particularly because of a letter which he wrote to the governor of Arkansas concerning the Elaine alleged rioters and generally on account of his various interracial activities.

Professor Kerlin's efforts to improve Race relations in the South grew out of conditions wrought by the great war principally, and, as a consequence, he was not generally known among the Race until his publication of a book and several articles bearing on the Race question after the war.

A Strong Friend

It now develops from material submitted by Professor Kerlin to the board of visitors of the Virginia Institute that he was and is one of the strongest friends of the Race in the South.

He made it clear in explaining his actions to the board that he was no lover of the Race. He declared that he loved men and that the Race was made up of men just like other peoples. What he fought for was a vindication of the rights of men. Clarifying this, he wrote:

"As for my motive throughout, it has been solely to promote such interracial adjustment as would secure to both races the fullest measure of prosperity and happiness, with mutual good will and co-operation instead of perpetual friction and frequent outbursts of mob violence that disgrace and imperil our civilization."

Further on Mr. Kerlin quotes President Alderman of the University Commission on Southern Race Questions: "It is wise that . . . patient, wise, scientific, just men should labor at the problem (of the races) and seek to place it where it belongs, among the great economic and sociological questions of the time."

Altogether in the spirit of this commission's appeal, he says, his activities were carried on.

What He Is Like

A letter reflecting the influence which Professor Kerlin had and the kind of a man he is, is herewith reproduced:

"My dear Professor Kerlin: It was my privilege at the Blue Ridge Conference in North Carolina, in the summer of 1920, to attend a class composed largely of leaders in social work in the South, for the purpose of seriously studying the age-old 'Negro Question.' You were the leader.

"I am willing to admit that I entered that class with fear and trembling, because I thought that there was no solution possible, and because I felt stirring within me certain prejudices, deep seated, and of long standing. Like many another Southern man, I was afraid to face the facts. The one thing I most feared was that you might be a 'radical,' an espouser of 'equality'; that dangerous animal known by the uneducated Southern 'cracker' as a 'nigger-lover.' We had suffered too much from that brand of fanaticism.

"But the first thing we were impressed with (I think I may speak for the whole class) was the unbiased spirit of scientific criticism with which you handled the subject. It became clear at the outset that you, far from obscuring any phase of the question, were insistent on bringing out the 'truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.' In fact, you encouraged the class to bring out every prejudice, to bring into discussion every fact known to them which might contradict any statement you made. You met us more than half way, for you often brought up serious objections which the class failed to think of. Your fairness, candor and largeness of vision made a tremendous impression.

"Now, as to the result: At the 'testimony meeting' we found that you had converted the whole class. We now believe that the South has nothing to fear in facing all the facts, and in applying in its treatment of the Negro question the principles of democracy and Christianity. We pledged ourselves, unanimously, to do what we could to that end, and formed an organization for that purpose."—Frank S. Parsons

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Race Relations - 1921.

President Harding's Speech at Birmingham, Ala.

Discussion.

RACE QUESTION WORLD AFFAIR, SAYS HARDING

Time Has Passed When Problem Concerns Only South or Even United States, He Says

Racial and Social Divergence Urged—Nothing To Be Gained by Blinking at the Facts

Atlanta Georgian 10/27/21

(By International News Service.)

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Oct. 26.—Straight into the heart of the Democratic South with its millions of negroes, President Harding came Wednesday with a frank and stirring message dealing with the race problem.

The time has passed, the President said, when the problem of race is of concern only to the South, or even to the United States. It now has become a world problem, he declared, and he suggested that it can best be dealt with by recognizing these fundamentals:

1. That the negro be accorded equal opportunity in matters of politics, business and education, and

2. That there be absolute divergence racially and socially, each race with its own traditions, ideals, etc.

MUST FACE FACTS.

"Surely," said the President, "we shall gain nothing by blinking at the facts, by refusing to give thought to them. That is not the American way of approaching such issues."

President Harding spoke to a great audience of Southerners gathered in Capitol Park at the celebration of Birmingham's fiftieth birthday. It followed a parade through the city, and his speech dealt entirely with the industrial South and its problems.

President Harding spoke to a great crowd around an open-air stand. About two-thirds of his audience were white and a third negro.

NEGROES CHEER.

He handled his questions straight from the shoulder, and when he reached that part of his address advocating economic and political equality for the negro, he departed a moment from his text and said:

"What I say on this I say to all America, North and South, white and black. Whether you like it or not, unless our democracy is not not, unless our democracy is you must recognize that equality."

There was uproarious applause at this from the negro part of his audience and absolute silence from the white.

Again when the President said that he favored letting the black man vote when he is fit to vote, and prohibiting the unfit white man from voting, there was uproarious applause from the negroes and absolute silence from the whites.

For the most part the white portion of his audience received his message on the race problem in stony silence. The negroes were loud in their applause. At the end of the speech there was a flutter of applause from the crowd as a whole and then it melted swiftly away.

"Men of both races," continued the President, "may well stand uncompromisingly against every suggestion of social equality. It would be helpful to have that word 'equality' eliminated from this consideration; to have it accepted on both sides that this is not a question of social equality, but a question of recognizing a fundamental, eternal and inescapable difference.

"Politically and economically there need be no occasion for great and permanent differentiation for limitations of the individual's opportunity, provided that on both sides there shall be recognition of the absolute divergence in things social and racial.

LET THOSE FIT VOTE.

"I would say let the black man vote when he is fit to vote; prohibit the white man voting when he is unfit to vote.

"I wish that both the tradition of a solidly Democratic South and the tradition of a solidly Republican black race might be broken up.

"I want to see the time come when black men will vote for Democratic candidates, if they prefer the Democratic policy on tariff or taxation, or foreign relations, or what no; and when they will vote the Republican ticket for like reasons.

"We can not go on, as we have gone for more than half a century, with one great section of our population, numbering as many people as the entire population of some significant countries of Europe, set off from real contribution to solving our national issues, because of a division on race lines."

The President warned his audience that the South must do something educationally for the negro and not make its black population "a vast reservoir of ignorance to be drained away by the processes of immigration to other sections."

The growing industrialism of the South, he said, will not permit this if the South is to continue to prosper.

In speaking of education, the President said, he had no sympathy with 'half-baked altruism," that would overstock the country with doctors and lawyers and leave no laborers.

From the station, where he was met by a reception committee and was given a tremendous ovation by a great crowd, the President embarked on a day of activities fully as strenuous as any which he underwent during the campaign.

Twenty-one guns boomed forth a welcome to America's chief executive as he stepped from the presidential train.

Accompanying the President were Mrs. Harding, Senator Oscar Underwood of Alabama, Secretary of War Weeks, Secretary of the Interior Fall, Secretary George B. Christian, Brigadier General Sawyer, the President's physician; military aids, secret service operatives and newspaper men.

The President's program called for three set speeches, the taking of a college degree, laying the corner stone of a Masonic temple, brief visits to various points of interest and shaking hands with thousands of people.

The flower of Alabama beauty greeted the President and his party upon their arrival. Sixty-seven girls, representing the 67 counties of the State, were drawn up as a reception committee.

After his reception the President was driven to the Tutwiler Hotel for a few minutes' rest before taking his place in the parade which started at 10 o'clock. The President moved with the parade until it reached the Southern Club, where he left the procession and took the reviewing stand.

The President's first speech was scheduled for 12 o'clock in Capitol Park, his second at a luncheon given in his honor at the hotel at 1 o'clock and a third address was scheduled for late in the afternoon at the laying of the corner stone for the Masonic Temple.

Before starting on the parade through the business section the President was introduced to members of the Alabama State Legislature and delivered a short address.

President Harding endeavored to explain that he did not wish to be looked upon as a Republican President, but rather as an American President.

"It is as much my duty to serve the people of Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi as it is to serve the people of Ohio, New York or Montana. I wish it understood that I am not a Republican in the sense that a party man was once looked upon, but rather an American with party politics as a secondary matter," the President said.

The President declared that the country is passing through an era of reconstruction and that "It behooves every man to aid in bringing conditions back to normal.

Harding Speaks To Business Men

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Oct. 26.—A plea that Americans face the difficult problems of peace with the same courage and patriotic endeavor that they displayed when confronted by the gigantic tasks of war was voiced here Wednesday afternoon by President Harding in addressing a group of Alabama business men, whose guest he was at a luncheon at the Tutwiler Hotel. It was the President's second formal address of a busy day.

"United consecration for war shall never be challenged again," said the President. "Our tasks now lie in applied concord and no less patriotic devotion in solving the problems of peace. These are not easy tasks. A world disordered amid the upheavals of war is not readily put in order again, and nations torn by the fever of conflict are not readily restored to normal ways.

MINORITY WARNED.

"But we shall succeed. Unshaken by world cataclysm, we hold our foundations to be eternally right. The nation which withstood internecine conflict, so heroically fought as the Civil War, will tolerate the threat of no minority which challenges the supremacy of laws or endangers our common welfare.

"There will never come a day when the rights of any minority are denied, however formidable or weak it may be, but no minority shall ever challenge the supremacy of the rule of law.

"The readjustments and restorations of peace are not easy. War invariably leaves its impress on the industrial and financial life of every participating people. With all my heart I crave a better and higher industrial state as compensation for the sacrifices made. But we can no more maintain the abnormal heights than we can favor return to the old-time levels. There must be—there is—a righteous mean between these two extremes, and we mean to find it. It will be a lawful pursuit, orderly in our practices, and reverent for the government, where justice is supreme and the law is our security."

TRIBUTE TO BANKHEAD.

President Harding paid high tribute to two Alabamans, Senator Oscar W. Underwood, who introduced him, and the late Senator Bankhead. Of the latter, he said:

"I had a deep respect for dear old Senator Bankhead, and I know we shared personal regards. I hope it is not unseemly to relate a personal incident which strangely touched me. Amid the early preconvention speculation my name was mentioned as a possible candidate for the presidency.

"One day Senator Bankhead beckoned me into his committee room and in the fellowship of man to man said to me:

" 'Harding, I am a Southern Democrat. I do not know how the 1920 election is going to result, but if we are to have a Republican President, I want you to know some of us Alabama Democrats would rather see you in the executive office than any Republican we know. If I can give you any pointers or any personal influence in Alabama to help nominate, do not hesitate to call on me.' "

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Race Relations - 1921.

President Harding's Speech at Birmingham, Ala. (Editorials)

Discussion.

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS IN BIRMINGHAM

THE address of President Harding, delivered in Birmingham on Wednesday, undoubtedly will attract a great deal of attention throughout the nation. Much of the address is of peculiar interest to the South, of course, and undoubtedly will be made the subject of much comment.

The President's tribute to the South and its honorable history, his evident appreciation and understanding of what so great a Southern city as Birmingham means in the South and of the South; his optimistic and patriotic utterances as to the duty of all the people to work for the advancement of American ideals and interests, the stressing of the genuine worthwhileness of labor and the far-flung necessity of education—those things were all well said, manly, American, fine.

The President's utterances upon the race question, not only from the standpoint of the South but more particularly, perhaps, from the standpoint of the entire nation, were far and away, of course, the portions of his address that will be read with the keenest interest and given more lasting consideration. Said in the best of temper, as coming from the President of all the people, if read and considered carefully and conscientiously by the people of the nation—North, East, South and West—they should prove helpful.

The President says:

"Men of both races may well stand uncompromisingly against every suggestion of social equality; to have it accepted on both sides that this is not a question of social equality, but a question of recognizing a fundamental, eternal and inescapable difference."

There will be no difficulty whatever about thorough-going agreement here.

The President is right. There can be no such thing as social equality between the whites and the blacks in this nation.

When the President talks of "political opportunity" for the negro, he will find—as he doubtless knows good and well—that he is treading on somewhat difficult ground.

The people of the South are not sufficiently removed from the days of Reconstruction, for one thing, to view a suggestion of political opportunity for the negro with any great degree of enthusiasm. The mistakes and misdoings of the federal government of that dark day and time for the South, thrusting, as it did, upon the South an intolerable condition, have not been forgotten by the South. Whatever degree of political "right" is granted to the negro in the South will be granted only after the negro has proven himself thoroughly capable of employing it with intelligence.

However, since we are agreed that the best of whatever comes to the negro must come of a lofty, intelligent and patriotic understanding of American ideals upon his part—then whatever comes to him of political advantage and opportunity will come to him that way, and that way only.

The negro has not been "robbed of his political rights" in the South, as a matter of fact. He still may vote; but community voting has been made difficult. The fact, however, that the negro does vote in the South today in considerably larger measure than he did twenty years ago, should encourage him to suspect that further privileges in that direction may be granted him.

In the last bond election in Atlanta a great many negroes registered and voted. There are many counties in Georgia where negroes of proven integrity and intelligence not only are permitted to vote, but actually encouraged to. That should indicate progress to his mind.

We gather from his address that the President thinks the negro should be accorded fair and square treatment in the South, the East, the West and the North—everywhere. That his conditions of living should be made better; that he should be given better educational advantages; that he should be better equipped to direct his own energies, intelligently; that, while separated and segregated as a race on the trains, for instance, conditions accorded him there should be ample and decent—and The Georgian thinks that is right.

The President's contention that the negro is a valuable and vital asset to the South, that the negro is very necessary to the progress and prosperity of the South, is quite true. The South may avail itself to the maximum of this asset by equipping it for suitable service and citizenship—and that is right, too.

What the President has to say in this matter, if read and considered intelligently, will be found in the main to be thoroughly manly and American.

His remarks will not be so construed by some people, of course. A good deal of loose thinking and a good deal of loose talking probably will be indulged in in respect of his Birmingham address. But, going to the very heart and fundamentals of it, there will be found very little that Americans of fair and open minds may not pretty well get together on.

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President Harding's Speech at Birmingham, Ala.

Race Relations - 1921.

Discussions.

Complete Text of Harding Address

Atlanta Journal

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Oct. 26.—President Harding's speech at Capitol Park follows:

Mr. Mayor, Citizens of Birmingham and People of the South: I have been wondering, as we have seen the Birmingham district and the marvels of this region's industrial development, whether any of us have yet quite realized the significance of the fact that Birmingham has been called "The Magic City." The basic, characteristic industry on which modern civilization rests is iron and steel; and Birmingham is the world's last word in development of the iron and steel industries.

We have come here to pay tribute to the marvelous achievement of a brief half century to which this city and its industries stand as a monument. They testify to us how far the South has progressed in a single generation; the generation since slavery was abolished and the rule of free labor and unfettered industrial opportunity became the rule of all of our great republic.

Somewhere my attention has been called to the legend, possibly a historical fact, that when Fernando DeSoto was leading his expedition of exploration and conquest from Florida to the Mississippi, some of his metal workers not only discovered the wonderful deposits of coal, limestone and iron ore in this area and told DeSoto that here was an even greater treasure house than that which he was seeking; not an El Dorado of precious metals, but the opportunity for making the world's dominating iron industry. I have been told, I do not know whether it is literally true, that the first reduction of iron in this district was actually accomplished by members of the DeSoto party who supplied certain of the expedition's needs by smelting some of these wonderful ores. But DeSoto was led on by the mirage which filled his vision, and instead of the pot of gold he sought, he found the mighty Mississippi, and in it his grave.

MINERAL RICHES.

So far as concerns more modern development, it appears that Gen. Andrew Jackson also utilized your mineral and metal riches. When he was on his march to New Orleans for the great battle in which the yeomanry of the South won the single notable land victory of the War of 1812, his metallurgists discovered that from these easily smelted ores they could supply their requirements of iron, of which they stood in great need. Accordingly they erected rude furnaces and reduced considerable quantities of iron. From that time on there appears to have been more or less sporadic and intermittent utilization of these deposits, and during the Civil War they provided a considerable part of the needs of the South.

In this connection I have many times wished that there might be a wider appreciation of the energy, resourcefulness and genius for industrial development which the people of the South demonstrated during that war. Essentially an aristocratic agricultural region, the South suddenly confronted the need to turn out iron and steel, and a vast complexity of their products which were absolutely essential to the conduct of the war. Not only did they arise to the occasion, but they gave what I have regarded as one of the greatest demonstrations in all history of the possibilities of adaptation, organization and industrial development under stress of great necessity. We will do well to recognize that the industrial achievement of the South during the Civil War was one of the marvels resulting from that unhappy conflict. It marked the beginning of that diversification of industry which has made the South of today an industrial as well as an agricultural empire. I have often wished that some inspired son of the South might one day devote the time and effort necessary to record the history of that Aladdin-like industrial wonder which was a large part of the story of the South in the civil contest. It is one of the phases of American history that has had too little understanding attention. When we have studied the Civil War we have been so engrossed with military and political aspects that we have slighted the industrial and economic phases. I am going to venture, therefore, the suggestion that a comprehensive study of that aspect of the war period would be of inestimable value to the South and to the great story of our national progress. Not only would it constitute an eloquent testimony to the genius and devotion of our Southern people, but it would present a picture of opening opportunity and widening horizon whose contemplation would challenge every remaining vestige of prejudice and sectional antagonism.

THE SOUTH IN WAR.

It has been a truism that the War Between the States started the nation as a whole in the way of colossal industrial growth. But I have wished that the particular story of that wartime experience in the South might be better known. I have been told of the almost overnight development of munition factories out of smithies; of the expansion of railroad repair shops into locomotive works; how shipyards, ordnance plants, powder factories were conjured up and put at work almost in the twinkling of an eye; of improvised industrial processes and mechanical contrivances, not a few of which have been of permanent value, some of them fairly revolutionary. We will, I am sure, be forgiven if, as Americans, we remind ourselves that wooden navies had fought each other for thousands of years until Americans fell to fighting among themselves. Then came iron fighting craft—came so quickly and unanimously that both sides had their first armored warships ready at the same moment, so well matched that they fought to a draw. It was a revolution; yet it was only one incident in this matching of American genius and resourcefulness in titanic struggle.

The railway and the telegraph were first bidden to the service of war on a great scale during our civil contest. The huge ordnance which both North and South created and used was as sensational in that day as the most startling constructions of the World War were more than a generation later. In both South and North our people learned and demonstrated what it means to mobilize all the human, industrial, financial, scientific resources of a great community for the purposes of war. That, indeed, was the most characteristic and most revolutionary development of the struggle. When we had done with our war we had wellnigh made over the whole art of war. The old things were gone forever. By land or by sea both its material and its methods were sweepingly changed. Glory and glamour had been taken out of it and in their place had been put the grim, hard reality of whole peoples measuring against each other their last ounce of power and resources.

In that contest of industry and resources the South started with a fearful handicap, a handicap so great that its accomplishments constituted one of the industrial wonders of all time. It is to this wonder that I have wanted to call attention today, for I have felt that it has never been appraised as it ought to be. From that contest the South emerged, not only with the foundation of industrial greatness securely laid, but freed from the incubus of a labor system that had from colonial times chained it to the status of an almost purely agricultural community.

WAR-FOUNDED INDUSTRY.

The industrial and commercial development of States and peoples has always been strikingly influenced by their wars; perhaps even more than their social and political development. That older war founded industry in the South under stress of sternest necessity; and so we may recognize in your Birmingham district and its industrial splendor one of the fine products of the industrial revolution which was forced upon the whole South.

We are gathered today to celebrate the semicentenary of the founding of Birmingham. That this wonder could be wrought in so brief a time tells us how fast our modern world moves; so fast that we are wont to forget our yesterdays before our todays are fairly begun; so absorbing in its concerns of the present that too often we have neither time nor interest for the morrow. Yet there never was a time when we needed so much to study our past and, in the light of its lessons, give earnest thought to the tomorrows. So I have thought that here in your Magic City, whose story seems a very compress of yesterday, today and tomorrow, it may be proper to suggest a few thoughts regarding the critical times which are faced by our country and all countries and some of the issues which command our consideration.

Exhausted and affrighted by the horrors of the World War, the nations are seeking means to prevent repetition of such an experience. They see the need for effective reform in international relationships and, along with this, for many alterations and adaptations of domestic institutions which will better fit them for the new time. Our own country, though its necessities are less onerous, its difficulties not so grievous as those of many others, has yet occasion to consider wherein it may better its methods, adjust itself to the new relationships and equip itself for the new sort of struggle that lies ahead. Concerning one phase of this national problem, I want to say a few words.

THE RACE PROBLEM.

If the Civil War marked the beginnings of industrialism in a South which had previously been almost entirely agricultural, the World War brought us to full recognition that the race problem is national rather than merely sectional. There are no authentic statistics, but it is common knowledge that the World War was marked by a great migration of colored people to the North and West. They were attracted by the demand for labor and the higher wages offered. The slow movement had been in progress for decades before, but it was vastly accelerated because of the war, and has continued at only a slackened pace since. It has brought the question of race closer to North and West, and I believe it has served to modify somewhat the views of those sections on this question. It has made the South realize its industrial dependence on the labor of the black man and made the North realize the difficulties of the community in which two greatly differing races are brought to live side by side. I should say that it has been responsible for a larger charity on both sides, a beginning of better understanding; and in the light of that better understanding perhaps we shall be able to consider this problem together as a problem of all sections and of both races, in whose solution the best intelligence of both must be enlisted.

Indeed, we will be wise to recognize it as wider yet. Whoever will take the time to read and ponder Mr. Lothrop Stoddard's book on The Rising Tide of Color, or, say, the thoughtful review of some recent literature of this question which Mr. F. D. Lugand presented in a recent Edinburgh review, must realize that our race problem here in the United States is only a phase of a race issue that the whole world confronts. Surely we shall gain nothing by blinking the facts, by refusing to give thought to them. That is not the American way of approaching such issues.

In another way the World War modified the elements of this problem. Thousands of black men, serving their country just as patriotically as did the white men, were transported overseas and experienced the life of countries where their color aroused less of antagonism than it does here. Many of them aspire to go to Europe to live.

A high-grade colored soldier told me that the war brought his race the first real conception of citizenship—the first full realization that the flag was their flag, to fight for, to be protected by them, and also to protect them. He was sure that the opportunity to learn what patriotism meant was a real opportunity to his race.

SOCIAL DIVERGENCE.

These things lead one to hope that we shall find an adjustment of relations between the two races, in which both can enjoy full citizenship, the full measure of usefulness to the country and of opportunity for themselves, and in which recognition and reward shall at last be distributed in proportion to individual deserts, regardless of race or color. Mr. Lugand, in his recent essay, after surveying the world's problem of races, concludes thus:

"Here, then, is the true conception of the interrelation of color—complete uniformity in ideals, absolute equality in the paths of knowledge and culture, equal opportunity for those who strive, equal admiration for those who achieve, in matters social and racial a separate path, each pursuing his own race purity and race pride; equality in things spiritual; agreed divergence in the physical and material."

Here, it has seemed to me, is suggestion of the true way out. Politically and economically there need be no occasion for great and permanent differentiation, for limitations of the individual's opportunity, provided that on both sides there shall be recognition of the absolute divergence in things social and racial. When I suggest the possibility of economic equality between the races, I mean it in precisely the same way and to the same extent that I would mean it if I spoke of equality of economic opportunity as between members of the same race. In each case I would mean equality proportioned to the honest capabilities and deserts of the individual.

Men of both races may well stand uncompromisingly against every suggestion of social equality. Indeed, it would be helpful to have that word "equality" eliminated from this consideration; to have it accepted on both sides that this is not a question of social equality, but a question of recognizing a fundamental, eternal and inescapable difference. We shall have made real progress when we develop an attitude in the public and community thought of both races which recognizes this difference.

POLITICAL ASPECT.

Colonizing countries everywhere have in recent times been more and more dealing with the problem from this point of view. The British commonwealth of nations and races confronts it, and has been seeking its solution along the lines here suggested. There is possibility of our learning something applicable to our own country from the British. It is true that there is a great difference between bringing into our own land the colonists of another race and going out to another land and subjecting it and its people to the rule of an alien race. Yet the two cases have so many elements of similarity that it seems to me the experience of each must furnish some light upon the other.

Take first the political aspect. I would say let the black man vote when he is fit to vote; prohibit the white man voting when he is unfit to vote. Especially would I appeal to the self-respect of the colored race.

I would inculcate in it the wish to improve itself as a distinct race, with a heredity, a set of traditions, an array of aspirations all its own. Out of such racial ambitions and pride will come natural segregations, without narrowing any rights, such as are proceeding in both rural and urban communities now in Southern States, satisfying natural inclinations and adding notably to happiness and contentment.

On the other hand, I would insist upon equal educational opportunity for both. This does not mean that both would become equally educated within a generation or two generations or ten generations. Even men of the same race do not accomplish such an equality as that. They never will. The Providence that endowed men with widely unequal capacities and capabilities and energies did not intend any such thing.

But there must be such education among the colored people as will enable them to develop their own leaders, capable of understanding and sympathizing with such a differentiation between the races as I have suggested—leaders who will inspire the race with proper ideals of race pride, of national pride, of an honorable destiny, an important participation in the universal effort for advancement of humanity as a whole. Racial amalgamation there can not be. Partnership of the races in developing the highest aims of all humanity there must be if humanity, not only here but everywhere, is to achieve the ends which we have set for it.

A WORLD PROBLEM.

I can say to you people of the South, both white and black, that the time has passed when you are entitled to assume that this problem of races is peculiarly and particularly your problem. More and more it is becoming a problem of the North; more and more it is the problem of Africa, of South America, of the Pacific, of the South Seas, of the world. It is the problem of democracy everywhere, if we mean the things we say about democracy as the ideal political state.

Coming as Americans do from many origins of race, tradition, language, color, institutions, heredity; engaged as we are in the huge effort to work an honorable national destiny from so many different elements; the one thing we must sedulously avoid is the development of group and class organizations in this country. There has been time when we heard too much about the labor vote, the business vote, the Irish vote, the Scandinavian vote, the Italian vote, and so on. But the demagogues who would array class against class and group against group have fortunatley found little to reward their efforts. That is because, despite the demagogues, the idea of our oneness as Americans has risen superior to every appeal to mere class and group. And so I would wish it might be in this matter of our national problem of races. I would accept that a black man can not be a white man, and that he does not need and should not aspire to be as much like a white man as possible in order to accomplish the best that is possible for him. He should seek to be, and he should be encouraged to be, the best possible black man, and not the best possible imitation of a white man.

EDUCATION URGED.

It is a matter of the keenest national concern that the South shall not be encouraged to make its colored population a vast reservoir of ignorance, to be drained away by the process of migration into all other sections. That is what has been going on in recent years at a rate so accentuated that it has caused this question of races to be, as I have already said, no longer one of a particular section. Just as I do not wish the South to be politically entirely of one party; just as I believe that is bad for the South, and for the rest of the country as well, so I do not want the colored people to be entirely of one party. I wish

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that both the tradition of a solidly Democratic South and the tradition of a solidly Republican black race might be broken up. Neither political sectionalism nor any system of rigid groupings of the people will in the long run prosper our country. I want to see the time come when black men will regard themselves as full participants in the benefits and duties of American citizenship; when they will vote for Democratic candidates, if they prefer the Democratic policy on tariff or taxation, or foreign relations, or what not; and when they will vote the Republican ticket only for like reasons. We can not go on, as we have gone for more than a half century, with one great section of our population, numbering as many people as the entire population of some significant countries of Europe, set off from real contribution to solving our national issues, because of a division on race lines.

With such convictions one must urge the people of the South to take advantage of their superior understanding of this problem and to assume an attitude toward it that will deserve the confidence of the colored people. Likewise, I plead with my own political party to lay aside every program that looks to lining up the black man as a mere political adjunct. Let there be an end of prejudice and of demagogy in this line. Let the South understand the menace which lies in forcing upon the black race an attitude of political solidarity. The greater hope, the dissipation of hatred, the discouragement of dangerous passions, lie in persuading the black people to forget our prejudices and to have them believe that, under the rule of whatever political party, they would be treated just as other people are treated, guaranteed all the rights that people of other colors enjoy, and made, in short, to regard themselves as citizens of a country and not of a particular race.

MANUAL LABOR NEEDED.

Every consideration, it seems to me, brings us back at last to the question of education. When I speak of education as a part of this race question, I do not want the States or the nation to attempt to educate people, whether white or black, into something they are not fitted to be. I have no sympathy with the half-baked altruism that would overstock us with doctors and lawyers, of whatever color, and leave us in need of people fit and willing to do the manual work of a workaday world. But I would like to see an education that would fit every man not only to do his particular work as well as possible, but to rise to a higher plane if he would deserve it. For that sort of education I have no fears, whether it be given to a black man or a white man. From that sort of education, I believe, black men, white men, the whole nation, would draw immeasurable benefit.

It is probable that as a nation we have come to the end of the period of very rapid increase in our population. Recent legislation to restrict immigration will be in part responsible for a slacking ratio of increase. The new immigrants have multiplied in numbers much the more rapidly, but as the immigrants become Americanized, amalgamated into the citizenry, the tendency has been toward less rapid multiplication. So restricted immigration will reduce the rate of increase and force us back upon our older population to find people to do the simpler, physically harder, manual tasks. This will require some difficult readjustments. It has been easy, indeed, but it has not been good for the people of our older stock, that a constant inflow of immigration made it possible to crowd off these less attractive and profitable tasks upon the newcomers. I don't think it has been good for what the old Latins called the national virtue. That is a word I have always liked, employed in the Roman sense. I wish we might have adopted it into our vocabulary, in this sense. It strikes me as a good deal better than morale. Anyhow, we are under necessity to raise honest, hard, manual work to a new dignity if we are to get it done. We will have to make its compensation more generous, materially, and, if I may say it, spiritually; to make usefulness of service, rather than spotlessness of hands, the test of whatever social recognition depends on the individual's occupation. I confess a large disgust with all such classifications, and I earnestly bespeak an attitude toward good, honorable, hard work that will end them. I do not want to coddle and patronize labor; I want us all to get out, put on blue denims, roll up our sleeves, let our hands be honorably soiled, and do the work. That's what we've got to do, if we are to get on. We must do it, and be glad we can; for there is small chance that we will ever again have such armies of laborers landing on these shores, as have come in the past.

DRAFTS TO CONTINUE.

In anticipation of such a condition the South may well recognize that North and West are likely to continue their drafts upon its colored population, and that if the South wishes to keep its fields producing and its industry still expanding it will have to compete for the services of the colored man. If it will realize its need for him and deal quite fairly with him, the South will be able to keep him in such numbers as your activities make desirable. At any rate, here is a problem and it is pressing for settlement.

Is it not possible, then, that in the long era of readjustment upon which we are entering for the nation to lay aside old prejudices and old antagonisms and in the broad, clear light of nationalism enter upon a constructive policy in dealing with these intricate issues? Just as we shall prove ourselves capable of doing this we shall insure the industrial progress, the agricultural security, the social and political safety of our whole country regardless of race or sections and along the line of ideals superior to every consideration of groups or class, of race or color or section or prejudice.

Here are the reflexes of magical industrial development, here are the fruits in the making of a nation and its commitment to free productivity and trade. There is a materialism which sometimes seems sordid, but on the material foundation we have expanded in soul, and we have seen this republic the example to freedom aspiring throughout the world. We wish to cling to all that is good. We want to preserve the inheritance over which we fought because our conflict made it more precious. But we wish to go on as well as preserve.

The march of a great people is not a blind one. We can not be unmindful of human advancement. We wish to be more than apace with progress—we wish our America leading and choosing safe paths. Fifty years is a narrow span. Yet the marvel of Birmingham is less than the marvel of astounding America. And we mean to go on. If we are just and honest in administering justice, if we are alive to perils and meet them in conscience and courage, the achievement of your first half century will be magnified tenfold in the second half, and the glory of your city and your country will be reflected in the happiness of a great people, greater than we dream, and grander for understanding and the courage to be right.

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Race Relations

Discussions

A SOLUTION OF THE NEGRO PROBLEM.

Many ideas have been advanced respecting the Negro and the problem he forms in America; the discussions have taken many forms and angles, some choose to rest it on a political basis, others on religious basis, still others on commercial basis and others on social interminglings. Thus we have a conglomeration of ideas with no practical results. And why? It is because society in its domination has refused to be governed by common-sense and common justice.

The Negro is more or less a football for political mongers when they wish to ride into office by inflaming the electorate on what they term the Negro's desire for social equality, or plainer still, social intermingling. Both, social equality, and social intermingling are foreign to the ideas of the American Negro; this is the rule and can be substantiated by any American who has chanced to live near Negroes of the slightest intelligence, as well as those in a primitive stage. Individuals and races, like water, seek their level. And thanks be to the Almighty within 58 years the Negro has made his level in his own group equal to any group in America. And there are as many societies with the Negro in proportion to numbers as there are in any other race in this country. There is no need for any Negro to desire to leave his race because of class, beauty, intelligence, honor, money, character or opportunity. All can be found within the race.

Prof. Franz Boas, a scientific writer has aroused the editorial opinion of The Birmingham Age-Herald, and, when his idea is studied it should arouse the indignation of every human being regardless of race or section. Mr. Boas advocates miscegenation as the solution of the problem a rather crude and far-fetched method and perhaps the most degraded solution that has been put into public print in many years, and the ridiculous position of this scientist is that he confines the marriage to white men and Negro women. The Age-Herald has made a very plain discussion of this matter and has about expressed the sentiment of the Negro people.

The Reporter is of the opinion that there can never come any race solidarity of interest or purpose unless that race be distinctly pure in blood, character and demeanor. It must of its own motion respect itself and demand because of its honorable life the respect of others. We do not share the slightest in the idea of Prof. Boas and consider it a most dangerous utterance. The race of black people must not be taught that it is dishonest to be black, or that they are impure because they are black—they are impure when they are not black, and any method to destroy race distinction is a method toward bastardism and a plan against nature. Here is the Age-Herald editorial:

Writing on the Negro problem in the January Yale review, Franz Boas, an anthropologist of note, says, "The greatest hope for the immediate future lies in a lessening of the contrast between Negroes and whites which will bring about a lessening of class consciousness. It would seem, therefore, to be in the interest of society to permit rather than to restrain marriages between white men and Negro women. It would be futile to expect that our people would tolerate intermarriages in the opposite direction, although no scientific reason can be given that would prove them to be detrimental to the individual."

This is the kind of "solution" warmly advocated by Negro extremists who have done more than any other set of agitators to create friction between the white and Negro races. It is significant that most of them live in the North where their theories do not expose them to a coat of tar and feathers or worse treatment. The best Negroes, of the type who are conscientiously working for the improvement of their people and to promote friendly relations with white people, do not advocate miscegenation. Any suggestion for diluting Negro blood until all Negroes become octoroons and in course of time all octoroons become white will do infinitely more harm than good. It strikes at certain instincts that are fundamental in both races.

Dr. Boas, if one may judge from the number of learned societies of which he is a member in many parts of the world, his work as an explorer and investigator, his titles and degrees and the distinction he enjoys as a member of the faculty of Columbia university, is an authority in the scientific world, but even a strictly scientific discussion of the subject chosen for his essay will not fail to awaken resentment. Possibly the fact that he was born abroad—in Germany—where there is no Negro problem, and never will be, may have led him to offer seriously a proposal that would degrade the white race while having a pernicious effect on Negroes. The solution of the Negro problem does not lie in that direction.—Birmingham Age-Herald, December 27, 1920.

A BASIS FOR CO-OPERATION

Christian Recorder 1/27/21

None regret more than the Christian Recorder that there seems to be more and more discontent with the basis of co-operation in work between colored and white people engaged in philanthropic work. The old basis is decidedly unsatisfactory to the colored people. By the old basis we mean that the white people get together and make their plans and turn them over to the colored people to carry them out. This is treating colored people as children, for and the approach to the problems of colored people is from the point of view of whites alone.

For some years it may have been necessary for the white people to dominate in the councils of colored philanthropy and uplift, but that is certainly not necessary today. There are very few white people who know the necessities of colored people so well so that they alone can form a policy which will be helpful to colored people. Nothing will be helpful to them except that which encourages them for the highest development along all lines, as interpreted by themselves.

Granted that there are a number of sincere white friends who want to see the colored people and all people have a square deal in our civic, religious and political life, what ought be their attitude toward the Negro? Should it be that of a teacher directing a child along the line that she thinks the child should go, or should it be that of the friend counseling a friend along the lines which they shall both mutually agree and is best for them to go? We certainly think the latter.

There are, however, a number of white people who feel because white people furnish a large amount of money to run colored charity that they ought to dominate it. We must remember, however, that charity or philanthropy is not money alone, that the spiritual part is worth more than the material part, and that whereas the large number of colored people do not have the money to finance the physical operations of philanthropy, they may have the spiritual and intellectual point of view, which is quite as valuable in securing proper social adjustment as is the money. In fact, we find this situation all over the country, that there is a large number of so-called charities, having comparatively ample funds behind them, but which are of doubtful effectiveness among the colored people because they do not have the proper spiritual point of view; while on the other hand there is a large number of organizations among colored people catering to the higher spiritual strivings which are not able to attain the best of efficiency because of the lack of funds. Now we ask would it not be a good thing for those representing the material end of our advancement, and those representing the intellectual and spiritual aim of our advancement to get together upon some basis of co-operation which should be the basis of all. If we grant that both parties, white and colored, want the highest development for the colored people and the best development for the nation at large, and the largest influence for our common Christianity, we ought to be able to get together, overcome our differences and co-operate one with the other.

One of the unfortunate elements of the situation is, however, that there are a large number of self-seeking Negroes who pose as leaders of colored people, who are willing to sacrifice anything of principle in order that they may have the approval of white so-called philanthropists. Many of these misled white people actually believe that they are serving colored people when they keep these self-seekers in some good position.

Of course our work is along the line of independent activity among our people. We believe that we are to depend least

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of all upon charity and most of all upon self-help. Yet we also believe that along with our development of self-help there should also go at the same time the development in co-operation with the best of our white friends. If we do not get this contact and co-operation both races lose. Hence we plead for the kind of development which will give each his self-respect and cause each to work in the way it is best able to co-operate for the best interests of our religion and common country.

HARDING SAYS HE DESIRES TO HELP RACE PROGRESS

St Louis Argus 2/25/21

Tells Robert R. Moton He Appreciates Remarkable Advancement Negroes Have Made Along All Lines.

Associated Negro Press

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Feb. 23.—Dr. Robert R. Moton, Principal of Tuskegee Institute, passed through here this morning enroute from St. Augustine Florida, where he held an important conference with President-elect Harding. When asked concerning the conference Dr. Moton said:

"The interview had no political significance. In company with some representative southern white men, I went to tell Mr. Harding something of the movement for inter-racial co-operation, which has been organized in the South and which is gaining strength every day. Mr. Harding expressed himself as being in warmest sympathy with the work of the Inter-racial commission, which is helping to bring about understanding and helpful co-operation between the races and the members of the party were very much impressed with the President-elect's earnestness and sincerity."

It is understood that after Dr. Moton and members of the party had spoken frankly concerning some of the handicaps to thorough understanding between the races in the South and the efforts which representative white and Colored people are putting forth to remove them, Mr. Harding plunged freely into the discussion and expressed his appreciation of the remarkable advancement which the Negro has made along all lines since emancipation, as well as his desire to help and encourage this progress.

The Southern white men who accompanied Dr. Moton were Dr. W. W. Alexander of the Inter-racial Commission, Atlanta, Georgia; Dr. M Ashbie Jones, pastor of Ponce de Leon Baptist Church, Atlanta, Ga.; John J. Eagan, banker and manufacturer, Atlanta, Ga.; and T. T. Woofter, Jr., Phelps-Stokes Fund, New York City.

The Colored members of the party, in addition to Dr. Moton were Warren Logan, Treasurer, uTskegee Institute and A. L. Holsey, Secretary to the Principal, Tuskegee Institute.

SOLVING THE RACE PROBLEM.

Atlanta Constitution 3/19/21

It is a glowing sight to see the old chivalrous sentiment of the Southern people reassert itself in the recognition that the race problem can not be solved by mob-power, mind-power nor shame-power. It may only be solved by heart-power. While men everywhere are beginning to realize that what is sacred in their persons is sacred in the black man's also. They see the black giant stand in the labor market piling the mound of wealth. They saw him stand in the storm of shells, and, looking down in the grave where the Legion's dead are mingled, they feel the surge of a strange thoughts—the black American, in the hour of glorious death, is at last "flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone!"

That thought, expanding, radiating, fructifying kindren thoughts, will solve the race problem slowly, perhaps, but as surely as the stars are in their courses. Even now we white men are looking closer at the story of the Negro, and see ourselves living afresh in the black American. We see him groping amid those forms of development evolved by the white man through ages in the painful elimb toward civilization. The brain of the Negro is growing like our brains grew; his powers enlarging like our powers; his wonder, his despair, were once our emotions. He is asked learn in a few years what the white man has written in fifty centuries.

We are beginning to see that the Negro may only learn the white man's way through the white man's sympathy. All institutions are dumb until interpreted by kindness and will give no light to a new race until the altar of justice smiles with friendliness. We are beginning to see that as comrades in our dangers, as co-laborers bearing our burdens, as fellow-citizens sharing our opportunities, as friends in the kinship of understanding, we must tread the paths of trial and safety as fellow-Americans.—Leslie's Weekly.

[illegible] TRIBUNE

MARCH 24, 1921

THE NEGRO IN THE SOUTH.

Chattahoochee, Fla., March [illegible]—[Editor of The Tribune.]—In your issue of THE TRIBUNE March 13 F. L. Barnett has something to say about the Negro and the treatment accorded him in the south. When he says "the Negro does not find lynching in the north" he is mistaken; the Negro is lynched in the north for the same crime, and as quickly. The only reason there are not more lynchings in the north is that there are fewer Negroes there. If there has been any great exodus of Negroes to the north there is still plenty of them left, and those who have gone have not been missed. The honest Negro knows that the south is and ever has been his friend. Were it not for the laxity in law enforcement we would need no lynchings, but when criminals are freed over mere technicalities no such risk can be taken with the cases that are dealt with. The industrious Negro is accorded treatment in business just as the white man. They have their own schools, churches, and lodges.

It may be true that there are petty persecutions of Negroes in some sections by the lower class of whites, and it may also be true that these same white people are incited to these acts by some one not of the better class, who cares absolutely nothing about the Negro other than to stir up strife. The colored people of the south are probably the happiest people in America today.—C. BARNETT, R. N.

A SIGN OF PROGRESS

Journal & Guide 4/10/21

In another column of this page we are printing an editorial from *The Independent*, a newspaper published at Elizabeth City, N. C. It is what may be termed the enlightened view of the white South on the subject it discusses with so much frankness and fairness, although it is generally admitted that the editor of *The Independent* is years ahead of the majority public sentiment in progressive ideas. But his splendid views, so ably expressed, are a herald of what is to come. The South is fast learning that an illiterate or poorly trained citizen or inhabitant is a liability and a drawback to the material and social progress of the State and the nation. Opposition to the education of the Negro is given away to the more enlightened sentiment expressed in *The Independent* editorial.

PUBLIC SENTIMENT IS DIRECTED TOWARD CIVIL GOVERNMENT

Bham Reporter 4/23/21

From every quarter comes the idea for a new program such as will protect the humblest individual on the American continent, make secure his life, his liberty and pursuit of happiness. This spirit is in keeping with the laws of our land, the American constitution, the spirit of freedom and liberty. The radical element of the dominant race still have their heads up; they are frothing, complaining and becoming more radical as the tide waves of human protection continue to come in. Some are opposed to laws against lynching and could easily be said to favor unlawful homicides or savage murder when practiced upon a certain race, a race humble in station, great in its loyalty, powerful in its obedience to constituted authority. But the wave must be of the providential kind, and if this be true all forces and narrow-mindedness might oppose but the program of righteousness and goodwill to all mankind must go on. Who knows but this is the day for the humblest of us to enjoy the freedom we fought for, the freedom we labored for, the freedom we made possible for other men to enjoy? From the Legislative halls of the Southern States to the Senate Chamber of the United States is demonstrated that civilization is going to have its day in America that civilized authority will dominate this country and no insinuating group, law-breakers or party affiliators can of their own sinister motive stop what is reasonable and just.

The newspapers a few days past gave liberal space to the supposed disposition of the Republican National Committee regarding the Negro in politics and how it hopes to establish a Republican Party in the South on a basis of normality as is obvious in the North. Black Americans must not fret or worry over this gloated savagery of a dominant foe, but continue in the faith of honesty, longsuffering, believing always that right will prevail and no man is down until he himself counts down, no man can remain up merely because he is white and no man need go down because he is black. But men are going to be judged as the program now seems to appear by honesty of heart, honesty of life, clearness of intention, fairness to men and concerns, and no other should succeed or have the consideration of party, race or section. Let the black man continue in faith, in hope, in prayer, in loyalty to state, nation and race determined always to represent 100 percent American. Let us see to it always that our independence is established on a clean and honest basis with a feeling of justice to all mankind. The American Negro must not and does not ask for any right from the nation, from the state or from society that is not guaranteed him under the laws of our free institutions and our free government. But under the laws he asks for all that is offered and under God working with law administrators it is the hope and the full belief of every Negro who is able to sense his position in this country that he is going to be protected, none will suffer and this is without regard to section.

Our future is, as our present, largely in our hands. We can make it substantial, we can make it profitable, or we can because of unbalanced ambition become so confused that retrogration will favor our course more than progress. The spirit of the times is favorable to the black American. Let us continue in the spirit.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

CHURCHES UNITE FOR BETTER RACE RELATIONS

HAMPTON, VA., The recent riot in Tulsa, the reported activities of the Ku Klux Klan, and the disclosures concerning Negro peonage give timeliness to the creation of a Commission on Negro Churches and Race Relations by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. The purpose of this action is to consolidate the influence of the churches in bringing about better relations between the white and the colored races.

The first meeting of the new Commission was recently held in Washington, D. C., under the chairmanship of John J. Eagan of Atlanta, who is president of the Atlanta Council of Churches and one of the leading Christian layman in the South. A vice-chairman is to be named from the Negro Churches. The Commission is made up of about one hundred leading representatives of the white and colored churches, the majority being residents of the South.

The whole day was spent in discussing the distinctive contribution of the churches to bettering relations between the races. It was agreed that the Church, being committed to the principle that humanity is an organism, cannot accept as a satisfactory solution the theory that inter-racial conflict is inevitable, or that the races should be segregated from each other, or that they should be amalgamated, or that any one race is meant to have special privileges which are to be denied to others. The Christian solution lies in the races living together in mutual helpfulness, service, and good-will

"The problem of race," said Dr. Robert E. Speer, president of the Council, at the opening meeting, "are the most difficult of mankind. They make the most searching tests of our ideals and principles. We, as Christians, reject the theory of conflict and force as means of solving these problems. We reject the theory of separation as a solution. We must work out the problems of the white and Negro races together. We are all committed to the idea that co-operative good-will can solve these problems."

The following statement was unanimously adopted as expressing the general program of work for the Commission:

"To assert the sufficiency of the Christian solution of race relations in America and the duty of the Churches and all their organizations to give the most careful attention to this question.

"To provide a central clearing-house and meeting-place for the churches and for all Christian agencies dealing with the relation of the white and Negro races, and to support their activities along this line;

"To promote mutual confidence and acquaintance, both nationally and locally, between the white and Negro churches, especially by state and local conferences between white and Negro ministers, Christian educators and other leaders, for the consideration of their common problems;

"To array the sentiment of the Christian Churches against mob violence and to enlist their through-going support in a special program of education on the subject for a period of at least five years;

"To secure and distribute accurate knowledge of the facts regarding racial relations and racial attitudes in general, and regarding particular situations that may be under discussion from time to time;

"To develop a public conscience, which will secure to the Negro equitable provision for education,, health, housing, recreation, and all other aspects of community welfare;

"To make more widely known in the churches the work and principles of the Commission on Inter-racial Co-operation, and especially to support its efforts to establish local inter-racial committees; and

"To secure the presentation of the problem of race relations and of the Christian solution by white and Negro speakers at as many church gatherings as possible throughout the country."

The Commission on Inter-racial Co-operation, is a voluntary group of individuals, both white and colored, in the South who have been co-operating in developing inter-racial committees in local communities for the purpose of promoting good-will between the races. The Federal Council's new Commission has as one of its definite aims the strengthening of the influence of the churches in support of this movement.

Dr. James E. Gregg, principal of Hampton Institute, recently accepted membership on the Council's new Commission.

(By The Associated Negro Press)

Lake Junaluska, N. Car., Aug. 15.—The next big forward step in the solution of the race question will come from the South, Rev. W. W. Alexander, white, of Atlanta, secretary of the commission on inter-racial co-operation, predicted here Wednesday at the laymen's conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

"I say this with absolutely due regard for the friendship of the Negro in other sections and with the fullest and unstinted gratitude for all they have done in philanthropy and education, in church and state," Mr. Alexander said. "Nevertheless, the next big step in the inter-racial readjustment is to come from the South, and the reason for this is perfectly apparent. "The South can afford to do it, and what is a great deal better,there is a growing conviction here based upon a sense of justice and fair play for all men. Then, too, the South has social prestige to do this. The social question figures largely in the race question. So the South can, when it will take the leadership in international co-operation. I believe the South will assume this leadership with the same sort of pride and determination as it led the nation in the overthrow of the rum traffic. It has been the universal opinion of those who have come in close touch with the question that Negro leaders do not desire to seek social equality. They have asked for police protection, better housing, better sanitary and living conditions, better educational facilities, and a chance to develop into useful American citizens with every determination to maintain their own social life and the purity of the two racial stocks.

"The reasonableness and intelligence of Negro leaders greatly encourage the white men who have come in contact with them. The fact that southern white men and women have manifested their interest in Negro welfare has gone far to allay the unrest and pessimism which was so rapidly spreading through great sections of the Negro leadership of America."

Race Relations - 1921.
Discussions.

DAGGERING THE NEGRO'S FAITH.

Southwestern Christian advocate

In discussing race-relations in the South, it is almost invariably urged by those who pose as competent advisers, that the one necessity in the premise, for satisfactory solution of the problem is, that the Negro shall exhibit implicit faith in the southern white man, his next door neighbor, who is the Negro's "best friend." When the far-famed evangelist, Billy Sunday, went to Atlanta to conduct his meeting there, the Atlanta daily papers reported him as advising the Negroes to put supreme confidence in the ability and disposition of their southern white friends to accord them proper treatment, and in the same address, suggested that northern whites should not presume to offer help in the solution of the problem, but should leave its solution entirely with the southerners. Recently we were informed by press reports that Vice-President Coolidge, a Republican and a son of Massachusetts, advised an Atlanta Negro audience in the same vein. Now when the modern Negro is thus advised, he immediately reflects. He admits, of course, the necessity of racial confidence but he is aware that this confidence must be mutual and reciprocal. In the light of the histonic facts that glow and glisten with stern reality, he is hardly able to accept as incontrovertible, the assertion that his "best friends" are his southern white neighbors; nor can he accept the presumptuous and untenable theory that his tried and proven white friends of the North should be eliminated from the equation. This latter group, our northern white friends, by every token of evidence, have justified the Negro's faith in them by their attitude toward us. Our white friends of the South are on probation. There is among them an encouragingly increasing number who are ringing true to the dictates of an enlightened Christian conscience and making every laudable effort to give fair play to the Negro but these are handicapped by those who are hostile obstructionists to the Negro's civic and political rights.

For the sake of our royal-hearted southern white friends whom we love the Negro endeavors to build his faith in the South, in her institutions, her spirit, her men, and in her disposition to treat him justly. But every time he attempts it desperately and feels that he is making headway, he discovers that which daggers his simple naive faith, and he reels backward startled and despairing. Among many cases in point, one is especially convincing:

At its June session the Constitutional Convention of the State of Louisiana went on record as disfranchising the Negro with a vim. Of course, it was done in the usual way, with no specific color or race discriminations expressed, but the same iniquitous and indefensible and unethical subterfuges are employed as disgrace southern suffrage laws generally, accomplishing effectively the Negro's practical disfranchisement.

The new Constitution, Art. VIII, Section 1 (c), is as follows:

He shall be of good character, and shall understand the duties and obligations of citizenship under a Republican form of government. He shall be able to read and write, and shall demonstrate his ability to do so when he applies for registration by making, under oath, administered by the registration officer or his deputy, written application therefor, in the English language, or his mother tongue, which application shall contain the essential facts necessary to show that he is entitled to register and vote, and shall be entirely written, dated, and signed by him, except that he may late, fill out, and sign the blank application for registration hereinafter provided for, and, in either case, in the presence of the registration officer or his deputy, without assistance or suggestion from any person or any memorandus whatever, other than the form of application hereinafter set forth; provided, however, that the applicant be unable to write his application in the English language, he shall have the right, if he so demands, to write the same in his mother tongue from the dictation of an interpretor; and, if the applicant is unable to write his application by reason of physical disability, the same shall be written at his dictation by the registration officer or his deputy, upon his oath of such disability.

Said applicant shall also be able to read any clause in this constitution, or the Constitution of the United Sattes, and give a reasonable interpretation thereof

(d). If he is not able to read and write, then he shall be entitled to register if he shall be a person of good character and reputation, attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States and of the State of Louisiana, and shall be able to understand and give a reasonable interpretation of any section of either constitution when read to him by the registrar, and he must be well disposed to the good order and happiness of the state of Louisiana and of the United States and must understand the duties and obligation of citizenship under a republican form of government.

(e). He must in all cases be able to establish that he is the identical person whom he represents himself to be when applying for registration, and when presenting himself at the polls for the purpose of voting in any election or primary election.

9/4/21 New Orleans La,

Section 5 of the same constitution, which makes provision for any who may be denied registration, in the following words:

Section 5. Any person possessing the qualifications for voting prescribed by this constitution, shall have the right to apply for relief to the District Court having jurisdiction of civil cases for the parish in which he offers to register. Said court shall then try the cause, giving it preference over all other cases, before a jury of twleve, nine of whom must concur to render a verdict. This verdict shall be final determination of the cause. The trial court may, however, grant one new trial by jury. In no cases shall any appeal lie or any other court exercise the right of review.

Under such provisions as the above, the law can be made to disfranchise nine-tenths of the Negro population of Louisiana. The tooth in it is the lattitude of discretionary powers allowed registrars who are invariably white, and who according to southern traditions and policy are expected to prevent Negroes from entering politics for fear of "Negro dominance."

How many such registrars would permit a Negro to register on the basis of good character? How many would admit that a Negro understands "the duties and obligations of citizenship under a Republican form of government?" What Negro would be able to

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read and give a reasonable interpretation of "any clause in this Constitution or the Constitution of the United States?" And as Section 5 above shows, there is no effective appeal from such a system that abridges and denies the free exercise of the legitimate rights and duties of free citizens of color in a supposedly democratic commonwealth. Are these the liberties and these the fruits of the states' rights theory so vigorously maintained by "our friends" in the South? The chief purpose of this theory seems to be to police the Negro and to keep him eliminated from participation in his own government.

The moral intent of this constitution is, in disfranchising the race, to escape Federal interference and to bear the front of civic righteousness. And so the Negro is disfranchised, the nation looking on and powerless to help him. This has been shrewdly done not only thus in Louisiana, but generally throughout the South, with seeming impunity, but is it right or expedienct that the powers of democratic government should be thus debauched and debased? Can our southern friends hope thus to command the Negro's faith? If they think so they seriously blunder. For years, conscientious Negro leaders have noted the breach of faith which such acts and attitudes create and have endeavored to counteract the results and bring the masses back to racial confidence but the task seems well nigh hopeless. On every hand they appear handicapped by persistent and deliberate efforts of the politicians to estop the Negro in his every manly effort for personal and race advancement.

Aside from questions of right, is it expedient? Before this new Constitution was adopted with all its deadening designs, a commission of leading colored gentlemen of the state, cultured and patriotic men of wealth and influence, with convincing argument plead with the committee on suffrage to give the Negro a square deal. These were men who are expected to create and foster among their race group at all times and under all circumstances, racial confidence. And yet in the face of their urgent appeal, ninety odd lawyers of the best brain of the state matched wits to effect this faith destroying, race-crushing organ with which to blast the Negro's future possibilities and to insure the permanence of white supremacy within the state of Louisiana. To eliminate the Negro from its vital civic, economic, political activities seems the objective of southern history, southern tradition, southern legislation and even southern religion. This is potent not only to the intelligent leaders and conscientious race builders but to the masses as well. Such a policy showing itself at every point of racial contact in the south, awakens the Negro's suspicions, daggers his confidence, incites his rancor and makes more tense the racial situation. For he does not understand why he should be thus treated in his own country which his blood helped to make free and which his varied contributions are helping to make great. This loss of confidence in his southern neighbor's sense of fair play is a very fruitful source of the racial animosity and conflict all too frequently occurring throughout the South.

Viewed from this angle the signs of the times are omnious. God only knows what the future holds of mal-adjustment for two races that live in the atmosphere of such suspicious attitudes. Whether we like it or no, for one group, even though more powerful, to snatch away from the weaker group among them all its legitimate rights and duties of participation in the civilizing, manly and self-governing functions of the common group, and then expect the leaders of that delimited group to inspire in their followers confidence in, and unreasoning subordination to, the larger group, under the sting of the humiliating and race exploiting laws that enmesh the Negro in the South is the veriest folly; and such a policy of race adjustment must sooner or later collapse with calamitous results to our civilization. The faint, quaint nastrums customarily invoked to keep vital the Negro's confidence in the genuine friendship and just ethical intents of his southern neighbors has ceased to provoke the desired reaction and the Negro's confidence, being daggered is slowly dying. To this menacing situation, moral and Christian leaders, both white and Negro in the southland, must apply most vigorous measures. The Negro must hold no prejudice against his white neighbor; must make no unjust demands or encroachments upon the full-orbed rights and enjoyments of his white neighbor; must not seek consanguinous relations with his white neighbor; must keep himself attuned to the cleanest, highest type of Christian patriotism and citizenship. On the other hand, on the part of our southern white neighbors, there must be a real reversal of traditional policy in the treatment of the black man. Being an American citizen, the Negro will not permanently remain out of politics; he will not content himself individually to accept the theory of an inferior social status; he must ultimately wield the ballot untrammeled; he must be protected from the violence of the mob; the virtue of his womanhood and the sanctity of his home must be inviolate; he must enjoy all the rights and pursue all the duties involved in his manhood and citizenship estate of this nation before the problem of adjustment shall cease to agitate the nation. The voice of twelve millions of folk cannot be silenced until that voice shall have righted the moral wrongs that stalk like demons throughout the southland daggering the faith of a race.

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Race Relations
Discussions

"Minding Its Own Business," Constr. Striking Editorial of Boston Globe

(From The Boston Globe.)

The presence of millions of Africans, enjoying relative freedom, in the midst of a nation of whites is something without precedent in history. And the adjustments which it requires are correspondingly novel.

It has taken many centuries for Europe and America to discover that disagreeing religious sects can live elbow to elbow without serious consequences to their souls, bodies or estates. Granted the accustomed rate at which man gleans these lessons of mutual tolerance, the headway which is being made toward the adjustment of this racial juxtaposition in our south can be seen to be far from discouraging.

Competent testimony has just been gathered in the south and delivered from the pulpit of Trinity church by Rev. Dr. Mann. In brief, it is that the south itself is shouldering this responsibility for the well-being of the negro and just relationships between the two races in a manner which bids fair to prove far more effectual than any amount of interference, however well intentioned, from the outside. It is the south minding its own business.

The instrument is an inter-racial committee, made up from the best elements of both races. This committee has already organized subcommittees in 600 of the total 800 counties of the south. Some, of course, are stronger than others. But taken all together they constitute a nucleus around which may gather the forces at work for harmony between the two races. It is the Ararat of common sense emerging from the floods of strife and suspicion which have been the unhappy heritage of the south since its deluge of civil war, and here is the point for friends of the negro in the north to apply their aid.

What work this body is finding to do and will increasingly find may be seen in its action on the Jasper county murder case, in which a white land owner was accused of procuring the murder of 11 negroes. The inter-racial committee asked the governor to hire the best criminal lawyer in the state to assist the county prosecuting attorney. The governor replied that the state had no money for such purposes. The committee replied that it would obtain the money, and did. No sooner was the trial begun than this lawyer was challenged. It was objected that the state had no authority to pay him. The reply was that the state was not paying him. The next challenge was whether any of the privately subscribed money came from the north. The answer was "no."

"Then who is paying him?"

The committee read off the list of contributors. It mustered the best citizens, white and negro, in the community. No more questions were asked.

The non-political character of this enterprise is to be remarked. It was Booker Washington who brought to the negro the gospel that political rights are relatively useless until he has won his economic independence. And in this Booker Washington was a prophet wiser than he knew, for the truth of his gospel is by no means limited to the negro. The disparity between political freedom and economic handicaps is everywhere the paradox of the age in which we live.

The African Moses preached that when the negro could own and farm his own soil, could ply a skilled trade, teach his own schools and heal his own sick, all these other things would be added unto him. And this precept the negro schools of the south, with the two splendid pioneer institutions of Hampton and Tuskegee at their head, are steadily translating into practice. It is already estimated that the southern farms owned or tilled by negroes are equivalent to the total area of New England.

Modern economic science has clearly established that, under its political manifestations, the civil war at bottom a conflict between two irreconcilable systems of production: the southern, or agrarian chattel-slavery system, and the northern, or industrial wage-system. Directly that conflict was decided came the attempt to set the negro up in business politically. It failed. And it failed largely because the negro had no status of economic independence to articulate his political rights. That economic status he is now gradually acquiring. His labor has been, is and will remain an economic necessity to the south. And its recognition in this non-political union of negro and white progressive elements appears to be a healthful expression of this wholesome trend.

It is indigenous. It is practical. There is in it no taint of the sentimental. It is a union of the sane and orderly elements of both races. That way lie peace and understanding.

EDITORIAL

Wilmington Advocate 4/23/21

THE MISTAKES OF THE INTER-RACIAL COMMITTEE

If the Inter-Racial Committee wishes to justify its purpose in maintaining a spirit of good will and hearty co-operation between the races it has made a very poor beginning. The Inter-Racial Committee aims to promote good feeling between the white and colored people, and to weld them together in a common interest which will make for good feeling and harmony between the two racial groups under consideration. The Wilmington committee has begun by putting a chairman of its membership committee a man who makes it his chief business and aim in life to foster dissension not only between the white and colored races, but between the members of his own race.

Rev. Henry Y. Arnett, the chairman of the membership commitee, from pulpit and platform constantly foments discord and trouble. He makes violently incendiary speeches and wildly antagonistic attacks upon the white people at all times. His utterances in the pulpit of his church have been most rabid at times, and have sent his hearers away, not uplifted in spirit, but bitter and unhappy. He aims to make trouble. He pits friend against friend, he bestirs himself into every possible organization, and meddles to make for disunion and unharmony. He opposed the prohibition movement when the campaign for prohibition was under way in 1917, and not only refused to allow his church to be used for prohibition meetings, but opposed the endorsement of the "dry" movement in the Interdenominational Ministerial Union. His excuse was a specious one and savored of motives that we hardly like to credit to a minister of the gospel.

We repeat, that the Inter-Racial Committee needs men on it, and good strong men of both races. The presence of Rev. R. W. Trapnell and Bishop Cook is an augur of good feeling, but the foisting of the Rev. H. Y. Arnett into prominence on that committee is like throwing the apple of discord into the Olympian feast. There will be trouble and bitterness without fail.

SPRINGFIELD M. REPUBLICAN
MAY 1, 1921

The Negro and the Nation

In the Grinnell Review, published by Grinnell college, in Iowa, Bolton Smith makes an interesting plea for "a national policy on race relations." Mr Smith was born in Indiana, but he has been in business since 1885 in Memphis, Tenn. His avocation is given in "Who's Who" as seeking "a common ground which will 'make for the efficiency and happi-'ness of the Negro, on which the 'white people of the North and the 'South can stand." His position is doubtless representative of tolerant white Southern opinion, which is increasing in volume.

Mr Smith quotes this imaginary statement as one which "appears 'axiomatic to the southern white 'man," and which to himself appears reasonable:—

I am not responsible for the presence of the Negro. Some of my ancestors may have been instrumental in bringing him here, but the greater number of them had little, if any, conscious volition in the matter. The Negro is here just as I am here, through the operation of forces entirely beyond his and my control and which I know of only through history. I recognize it to be my duty to myself to be just to him, to see that he has as ample an education as the condition of the treasury and the dominant public opinion make possible. He must be protected in life, limb and property. He must not be humiliated and insulted. He must have every opportunity for the development of his powers. But I insist that since this civilization is the work of my ancestors I am its proper custodian, and that in all matters in which we differ, the final decision must remain with me. I believe this to be my duty to the Negro no less than to myself. This opinion I am prepared to defend with all necessary force.

The three sentences beginning with "But" are the ones likely to clash with northern opinion. They seem to mean the virtual disfranchisement of the Negro, by force if necessary, in communities where the Negro vote could carry an election. Mr Smith indeed says, "There 'is probably no community in the 'North that is prepared to submit 'to Negro government even if the 'Negro were in the majority and 'there certainly is no such com-'munity in the South." People in the North would hardly subscribe to this as an exhibit of approved "national policy." Nor is it easy to follow the logic of the white ancestor argument. The American Negro of today and his ancestors for more than one generation have had no knowledge or experience with government other than that of the white man. Suggestion that the Negro might if he had the chance introduce African tribal government or such a government as that of Hayti is conceding too much to heredity.

Practically, however, Mr Smith does not ask for the disfranchisement of the Negro. "Left to them-'selves," he says, "only the educated 'Negroes who are genuinely inter-'ested in government, will attempt 'to vote and I cannot but believe 'their use of the ballot will be such 'as to calm the apprehension of their 'neighbors." If this is a correct judgment, there is surely hope of eventually reaching a common ground, especially with southern white concession that the Negro "must have every opportunity for 'the development of his powers." We would not then be under Mr Smith's present necessity of explaining that "Americans are not a law-abiding 'people"; that "we are not governed 'by law but by public opinion," and that "any effort to override the lat-'ter defeats its own purpose."

What he says on lynching will strike a responsive chord everywhere, including, it is confidently to be believed, among the vast majority of southern white people:—

The first item of a national policy would be the determination that whatever our policy on the general question of lynching may be, we will allow no more lynching of Negroes by white mobs. If the heinousness of a crime depends upon the harm it does, then is this the greatest crime which can be committed here.

Mr Smith's first item is a good one to begin with. Its subject is plainly a matter of urgent national concern, and it is well that President Harding has taken it up in his address to Congress.

BOSTON LEARNS SOMETHING.

Advertiser 5/6/21

We must pause a moment to felicitate Boston, long the most ignorant—the most aggressively and persistently ignorant—community, in respect to Southern questions, in the whole system of American communities. We congratulate the city upon the dawn of enlightenment which we have glimpsed in that direction. How far-reaching and embracing this enlightenment may be, we may not say. But that it exists within the confines of Boston is certain. And that were enough for the historian to note in one day.

Assuredly the Boston Globe may presume to speak for Boston, at least a respectable portion of Boston. The Globe,

(over)

(From Over)

while not so sedate as, for instance, the Transcript, nevertheless is a very influential and vigorous journal, and altogether respectable, even in Boston, where prestige is acquired only by hard struggle and long waiting.

Recently the Globe published an editorial discussion of the negro in the South which might have been written in the editorial offices of any well-conducted Southern newspaper. The article was headed, "Minding Its Own Business."

"The presence of millions of Africans, enjoying relative freedom, in the midst of a nation of whites is something without precedent in history," begins the Globe.

The text of the Globe's editorial is the substance of a recent sermon in the pulpit of Trinity church at Boston by the Rev. Dr. Mann, in which the orator described how the South itself is shouldering the responsibility for the well-being of the negro "and just relationship between the two races in a manner which bids fair to prove far more effectual than any amount of interference, however well intentioned, from the outside. It is the South minding its own business."

One of the instruments by which the South is grappling with its racial problems is an inter-racial committee, made up from the best elements of both races. This committee, it is noted by the Globe, has already organized sub-committees in 600 of the total 800 counties in the South. "Some of course are stronger than others," comments the Globe, "but taken altogether they constitute a nucleus around which may gather the forces at work for harmony between the two races. It is the Ararat of common sense emerging from the floods of strife and suspicion which have been the unhappy heritage of the South since its deluge of civil war, and here is the point for friends of the negro in the South to apply their aid."

This committee recently had opportunity in Georgia to demonstrate its character. The committee petitioned Governor Dorsey to employ the best criminal lawyer in the State to prosecute Williams of murder fame. But the Governor had no fund upon which he could draw for such a purpose. Whereupon the committee volunteered to raise the money and shoulder the expense if the Governor would hire the lawyer, and this arrangement was agreed upon, but not without some bickering and controversy in the courtroom. The committee in court read off the list of contributors, showing on it names of some of the best citizens in Georgia, and thus all criticism was silenced.

The non-political character of this committee enterprise is remarked upon by the Globe, which recalls by way of comment that it was Booker Washington who brought to the negro the gospel that political rights are relatively useless until he has won his economic independence. And in this, declares the Boston editor, Washington "was a prophet wiser than he knew for the truth of his gospel is by no means limited to the negro. The disparity between political freedom and economic handicaps is everywhere the paradox of the age in which we live."

We will quote the concluding paragraphs of the Globe's editorial discovery.

> The African Moses preached that when the negro could own and farm his own soil, could ply a skilled trade, teach his own schools and heal his own sick, all these other things would be added unto him. And this precept the negro schools of the South, with the two splendid pioneer institutions of Hampton and Tuskegee at their head, are steadily translating into practice. It is already estimated that the southern farms owned or tilled by negroes are equivalent to the total area of New England.
>
> Modern economic science has clearly established that, under its political manifestations, the civil war at bottom a conflict between two irreconcilable systems of production: the southern, or agrarian chattel-slavery system, and the northern, or industrial wage-system. Directly that conflict was decided came the attempt to set the negro up in business politically. It failed. And it failed largely because the negro had no status of economic independence to articulate his political rights. That economic status he is now gradually acquiring. His labor has been, is and will remain an economic necessity to the South. And its recognition in this non-political union of negro and white progressive elements appears to be a healthful expression of this wholesome trend.
>
> It is indigenous. It is practical. There is in it no taint of the sentimental It is a union of the sane and orderly elements of both races. That way lie peace and understanding.

This really is remarkable. Here is a Boston editor, heir to all the hectic traditions of abolitionism, agreeing with the South of 1860 and the South of 1921, (1) that the South is capable of working out its race problem wisely and justly without outside aid, and (2) that the War Between the States was not a conflict between the morally indignant North and the depraved and materialistic South, but a "conflict between two irreconcilable systems of production: the southern, or agrarian chattel-slavery system, and the northern or industrial wage-system."

It is indeed time that a monument to William L. Yancey should be raised on Boston Common!

SYRACUSE N Y POST STANDARD
MAY 14, 1921

FOR JUSTICE TO THE NEGRO.

It is from Tuskegee that the interracial commission spreads its helping hand. It was the plan of Booker Washington. It is due largely to the enlightened philanthropy of Julius Rosenwald that the plan is bearing fruit so soon.

The interracial commission has county councils now in 800 out of a total of 1,600 counties in 13 southern states. Each council has five or seven men, whites and blacks, leaders of their races. The council seeks to provide equality in educational opportunity and to secure equal rights before the law. It aims to place schools where they are needed—and the south needs a great many. Mr. Rosenwald pays one-quarter the cost of the elementary schools established upon condition that the public or individuals will pay the rest. By his generous initiative 800 schools have been established.

The councils have as their primary purpose the outlawing of lynchings, a practice which has been condoned too often in the south. They have by prompt and energetic action stopped 20 lynchings and 50 race riots. They seek not social equality but equal educational and industrial opportunity, directing Negroes after the Tuskegee policy into the trades, not the white collar vocations. They demand equality of treatment before the law for the two races, and the course of events in Georgia shows that they are winning. The councils show less interest in politics. Equality of opportunity will come at the polls if it comes in other respects.

The interracial commission plan is administered by the people of the communities in which its councils are organized, white and black. It is the project of southerners to meet their own problem by co-operation of the intelligence of two races, which must live together. It has already produced results. It promises to produce greater.

For Immediate Release.

(Southern Publicity Committee.)

Inter-Racial Campaign to Help Colored Girls

Columbia, S. C.—The committees of white and of colored men now formed in fifty South Carolina counties have jointly taken up the work of providing for the Fairwold Industrial School for delinquent colored girls. This school, the only one in the state of this class, was founded by the colored women's clubs of South Carolina, with the active encouragement of the secretary of the state Board of Public Welfare. The colored women have now supported the school for two years, and hope so to demonstrate its usefulness that it will eventually be taken over by the state, as was done by Virginia in a like case. Meanwhile it has done such good work that its friends of both races have determined to set it firmly upon its feet. The Inter-Racial committees have undertaken to raise $20,000 for permanent improvements and running expenses. This sum has been apportioned among the county committees, and in some instances the quota has already been exceeded.

This school gives instruction in the grades, and teaches home industries, including laundering and gardening. Mr. Williams, secretary of the Board of Public Welfare, in an open letter, commends the work done as "exceptionally fine", stresses the importance of such an institution, and gives official support to the compaign for funds.

For Immediate Release.

(Southern Publicity Committee.)

The Southern Mtehodist church has just held a week's institute at Birmingham, Ala., for colored ministers. Dr. W. W. Alexander of Atlanta, director of the Inter-Racial Commission, was in charge; and the courses were given by leading men of the two churches, white and colored. Two hundred ministers from fourteen conferences attended. The expenses were met by the Southern Methodist Board of Missions.

GUTHRIE OKLA LEADER
AUGUST 16, 1921

If the inter-racial movement on furnishes the evidence to convict a few white and black gamblers, that will be great.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Race Relations
-Discussions

OLD MAMMY RULE MOTTO OF RACE RELATION HEADS

"Hat-in-Hand" Leaders Permit South to Insult Women Without Protest

6/4/21
Chicago Defender

By A STAFF CORRESPONDENT

Chattanooga, Tenn., June 3.—Reports have doubtless come to your attention telling of the formation in the South, in some thirteen states to be accurate, of committees in 700 counties to consider race relations. These reports are true. The idea, begun several years ago, has taken hold upon a certain element of the population and is being exploited in all sections. Not only are there county and town committees, but there exist also in some of the states the so-called commissions on race relations. These various committees and commissions are all advertised as working for the betterment of race relations and the development of understanding. My interviews with many men and women in the sections which I have visited have convinced me that the work of these agencies is all up in the air to the mass of the people. The masses know that the committees exist, but they do not know how; they do not see the committees as practical mediums making their every day life better.

Character of Men

Bearing this in mind, a slight survey has been made in several of the states covering the character of the men of both races who compose these committees, the influence of both groups among the people they are supposed to represent and among those they are not representing, the treatment accorded the Race members of these committees, and the response of the Race generally to the efforts of the committees. This survey yielded some significant results.

In the first place it was found that the white men usually interested in this sort of work were those inspired to it by sentiment of an untrustworthy sort. That obtained in most instances. They were the kind who could recall their "old black mammy." They were of the bourgeoise or middle class type. Their influence in the life of their communities in practical issues was not absolute. They were not found wholly lacking of the idea of the inherent superiority of the white man. They pretend to co-operate, while they feel themselves to be missionaries.

Uncle Tom Fossils

Race men on these committees are equally disappointing. More radical men of the Race have termed them "Uncle Tom fossils." It is felt that they have been glad to seize the opportunity of working with white men because that seemed to them to be big. They have been content to be the megaphone of the white man's missionary effort. In most cases the work has put them in the collar-and-tie class, and that distinction has satisfied them.

The influence of men is a direct result of their character in most cases. Here that is found to be painfully true. The white men are found to have little or no power to influence leigslation. Among their own people they are often reproved because of what are considered misguided efforts. In such instances as they do get a hearing they are not positive or convincing and as a result they do not carry weight with people who might do something to help the cause. They are what might be called welfare sinecures.

Of course one could not expect the influence of the men of the Race to be much. Their work lies mostly in inducing their white confederates t take up such recommendations they make to them. These suggestions amount to nothing. They, ar persuaded for their own good nc to speak of jimcrow cars, of insulting signs in parks, amusement places railroad stations. They are told tc be patient, to fiddle while Rome burns, when there comes the suggestion of a complaint against labor injustices, forms of peonage, low wages, indecent working conditions and child labor. Their attempts to improve school conditions, the most deplorable in any civilized country in the world, end when they have encouraged some impoverished and illy prepared teacher to give a concert to lengthen the school term. No thought, whatever, seems to be given to improvement of living conditions. That matter is left to take care of itself.

Committee Jim Crowed

Further, they are not upheld by their white associates. When traveling they are jim-crowed as usual. In hotels where they are admitted to conferences they must eat in the back and sleep where they can. They are forced into a servile sort of courtesy in order not to offend their supposed friends. In all cases they are treated as mere adjuncts or courtiers.

The response of the people to the work of these committees is disappointing in the extreme. The great bulk of those who should be interested are disgusted. You find them taking matters into their own hands. They are leaving their homes. True, some go like fugitives. Men often walk and beg their way North and then send for their families. Much secrecy is attached to their movements. The action of Southern agents in obstructing their movements during the war is still fresh in their minds and, as a result, they are seeking to get away as quietly as possible. One of these men told me after he found out who I was that guards were being maintained on plantations to prevent the escape of hands. In his section he said that if a hand was missed for a few hours bloodhounds were put on his trail as for a murderer. He had contrived to escape by saving a little food, taking it and his money to the woods for several days, and then when the hunt was given up starting for the town of X———, where I met him.

Fields, Weed Patches

One of the most awful catastrophes ever visited upon our country is going to result if such glossing over methods as are employed by these hundreds of committees are not discontinued. The people want an improvement in their life and they will not be satisfied until they get it. Southern plantations will grow up weed patches if the present exodus is not stopped.

The men on these committees are laughing in the face of old conditions. What they do is to suggest some new-fangled idea, hoping thereby to blind the people to the injustices which have been long existent. They persuade their co-workers of the Race to be satisfied with all the horrors that have made the South what it is today. They hope to deceive the people by giving them a little taffy. They are dressing the dirty body of the South in a few Sunday clothes without giving it a bath.

PITTSBURG PA. DISPATCH
AUGUST 24, 1921

Do They Fear Justice?

The expulsion of Col Robert T Kerlin, professor of English in the Virginia Military Institute, as a punishment for a letter written to Governor McRae of Arkansas, in the interest of several Negroes condemned to death in that State, is the most striking instance of interference with academic freedom brought to public attention in a long time. The incident contains all the flavor of traditional Southern prejudice in cases where the Negro is concerned, but is none the less a legitimate product of an intolerance that has been growing gradually but perceptibly for 10 years. While the academic liberty claimed as a heritage by all educators is not touched in this case the intolerance for that very reason is more pronounced.

Colonel Kerlin was penalized for exercising his right as a citizen to express an opinion in a case that received attention throughout the country. His offense was in merely requesting Governor McRae to make a careful review of the trials of the condemned Negroes to see if he could discover blowholes in the testimony that convicted, and evidence of innocence of the men under sentence of death and life imprisonment. The authorities of the Virginia Military Institute certainly do not want their fellow citizens to understand that they are so firmly opposed to the administration of justice as to forbid review as a guard aginst injustice?

RACE CO-OPERATION FOR JUSTICE

6/7/21
Birmingham Reporter

Whatever might be said to the contrary, there are many hopeful signs that indicate a greater future for all humanity. There are seasons for the radicals of both races and they cost the people pain and sorrow when their season of rioting is open. This is not denied, and yet the signs of the times still indicate that there is a moral, substantial and happy future for humanity.

Press dispatches from the East, North, South and West show that the reins of the Government are in the hands of men whose hearts and minds are for justice. Everywhere is indicated some form of race relationship committee; they are discussing the matter from every angle and we can but believe that out of these many conferences some program will be offered by which a better understanding will be had and a fairer measure of justice given. The race of Negro people has gone so long without the proper consideration from those who make sentiment for law and order until the cost is going to be enormous at this time to bring about such adjustments as will be fair and equitable. The program is going to be a long and weary one, and because of this it is going to breed a spirit of indifference, but it is to be understood that all this is a part of the obstacles and must be counted in as one of the negatives which any form of adjustment must meet. The whole situation boils down to a question of the rights of humanity, not black humanity, not white humanity, but the rights of God's creation, His creation of the human family and how it must be considered, how it must be directed and what interest must be taken.

The one big curse is the ignorance that prevails in both races—the savage ignorance in the black race, and an equal degree of ignorance as regards human justice in the white race. These are the main sins, others are abstract. These are concrete and deep-seated. A campaign of education is the one method that will remove the spirit of injustice and the spirit of indifference. There must come more sacrifices on the part of the black man for his own people and his own community. We need more missionaries. We talk of an enlightened age, but our manners and our program indicate something else. The white race through its leaders must become more sympathetic, not that it has not been sympathetic, but its interest as appears has run more to the individual than to the race. The white man has been stoo satisfied with incompetent servants and ignorant laborers; he has expressed fear for intelligence and has hindered citizenship and built up a large number of charities because of unguarded suppositions expecting trouble and disregard for station and position to come from intelligent people which cannot be substantiated with logical reason. The Negro must have a better feeling for the white man or the program of re-adjustment and a fairer consideration in his interest will not be successful. The spirit is good for both and there must come no intimidation from either side; both must be fairly treated and the deserved consideration must be given. The disposition to count one down because he is black and has served as a slave must be eradicated. The disposition to believe that all white people are mean and are tending to exploit the race must be removed from our consideration. We have friends here and everywhere, and they are proving it everyday. We are friendly disposed to white people and they are friendly disposed to us. There is a justice we seek, there is a protection we want; they will come in time if we stand as men and as citizens and take care of the opportunities that are granted and seek only the things justly due us and appeal for those things that we are justly entitled to. We can ask for no more, we can ask for no less. None of us, white or black, are safe if we become bullish and inconsiderate; we must measure our steps along this line and never think that we can be over conservative when seeking to do justice. Certainly we are oppressed and we smart under the load. Our method must be to find those men of character and substantial ability in the community whose voice is listened to, whose counsel is obeyed. We need the press. We can get it by intelligent and manly manners and by offering something for the use of the press—noble deeds, proper lives, constructive efforts and in this we overbalance the radical element of the races, subdue them, and in time if we labor on we will have reason to rejoice because of overcoming the obstacles and becoming part and parcel of a great growing government which we have served for three hundred years.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

NASHVILLE TENN BANNER
JUNE 19 1921

RACE RELATIONS.

A newspaper headline saying, "Harding sees education as hope of Negro," brought from the New York World the remark: "But he can't be lynched into an ucation."

Statistics would, beyond doubt, show that the Negroes lynched have been mostly of the illiterate class—but education would not remove race antipathy such as produced the kind of race riots they had in East St. Louis, Chicago and Tulsa, Oklahoma, any more than it would make the Californians consent to have apanese pupils in the public schools where they send their children.

And all the Negroes can't be educated in a day, not at least beyond such elementary learning as would not make much difference in their moral or intellectual status. It has been long urged by some people in the North that the South could solve its race problem by "elevating the Negroes." The process of immediate elevation of Negro masses has never been satisfactorily suggested, especially in such Negro conjested regions as the Mississippi delta country, the Alabama black belt, and the South Carolina coast. Besides this the practical relations between the white and blacks in the South has been that of employer and laborer. It is a relation of mutual dependence that holds them together more than anything else, and where it does not exist, when there are masses of white and black laborers in close proximity race antagonism is the more manifest.

The Banner is a strong advocate of universal education, and it has never failed to condemn lynchings and race riots whenever they occurr for any cause. The barbarism of burning Negro homes and making all the Negroes in a community suffer for the offense of one, is as bad as the treatment of the Armenians by the Turks. Such things have rarely occurred, if ever, in strictly Southern communities.

The educated Negroes, unduly assertive of their pretentions to equality, those who ostentatiously obtrude on white sensibilities, cause more race antipathy than any others. Amicable race relations are best preserved where each race gives full acknowledgment to the other's rights, and neither presumes on the other's sensibilities, or prejudices, if they may be so termed. The Southern Negroes usually so deport themselves and have little trouble with the whites. It is the hoodlums of both races most likely to cause trouble, but the educated Negro, who believes the elevation of his people can be produced by assertive endeavor to ignore race distinction, is also likely to provoke it.

The colored man is an apt pupil and he has been a willing student of the white man for several hundred years in this country.

The colored Americans have seen how easy it is for white men to flout defiance in the face of the law and do as they please under any and all circumstances; they have also watched the trend of events and noted the inefficiency of the law when it comes to protecting the lives and safeguarding the interests of colored citizens; they have about lost faith in the American white man's sense of justice and fair play and after carefully weighing the matter and in line with the race's usual policy of imitating the white man in so many things of a superficial and destructive nature, it was not to be unexpected that such depredations could longer continue without some reprisals or striking back.

Exhaustive investigations, long-winded invectives and fiery editorials; excoriation and denunciation of "agitators," "radicals" and "trouble-makers"; purchasing of machine guns and high-powered rifles and other weapons for taking of human life cannot aid the situation one bit, but rather intensify and aggravate it.

As long as this country maintains a double standard of citizenship and as long as lawlessness among whites is condoned, encouraged, aided and abetted, this country is going to witness such disturbances as the one just enacted in Tulsa.

The colored man is law-abiding to the core and his endurance of injustice and inequalities is the wonder of the ages; but a new generation is rising that is receiving the same training and thinking just like all other American citizens and unless a reign of law and order is instituted and unless men are taught and forced to respect the law of the land, inter-racial clashes, like lynch law, will become chronic.

The spirit of the South is to suppress and oppress rather than uplift and elevate the colored race and then when a few of our group imitate their white brothers by raising the devil, the entire race is lambasted and threatened.

The citizenship of the South is entirely too ignorant and vicious, no race excluded, to live in peace and harmony and until symmetrical education and genuine Christianity have imbedded themselves in the hearts and actuate the lives of all races in Dixie, there is going to be hell to pay with internal disturbances.

Let's get back to law and order and a constitutional government. Let us enforce the law against all violators and infractors and thereby create a strong sentiment against lawlessness which is now on a rampage in this country.

Let's have law enforcement or let's abolish all laws and revert to the age of the "survival of the fittest" and brute force. We are going to have one or the other; it is a physical and political impossibility to maintain both at the same time, and it is up to the authorities and those in power to either save or hasten the disintegration of this republic.

Here is fine work for the inter-racial commission and here's hoping that said commission in Houston will get busy at once and afford both races a chance to iron out their differences in a sane and sensible manner.

THE TIME FOR MEDITATION.

It seems to us that this is the time for the colored people of this community to appreciate and understand the peculiar relationship now existing between the white and colored people of this locality and to understand that the straining point between the thoughtless white folks and the irresponsible colored folks has at times been reached. The central figures in handling this situation are His Honor George Ainslie, Mayor of Richmond; Director of Public Safety, Col. William M. Myers; Chief of Police, Major C. A. Sherry; His Honor, Judge John J. Ingram, of the Police Court and His Honor Judge H. A. Maurice of the Police Court, Part II. Primarily, in the hands of these officials rests the safety of this city from mob rule.

That one and all of them appreciate this responsibility fully is self-evident. How can we aid them without making them liable to criticism by their hundreds of irresponsible political supporters? How can we promote the peace and happiness of this community by winning for them commendation from the better class of white people and the more conservative class of colored ones? We can do this by avoiding loose talk, so to speak. Let all references to white people be made in the proper manner, to the end that we as a race may retain their friendship and not invite their enmity.

When any of these officials perform some act that entitles them to commendation, let us be forward in showing our appreciation of such acts. By pursuing this course, we will bring about a contented class of people. We must cultivate a mutual confidence and so doing we shall set the pace for a prosperous future. What we condemn in the lower class of white people, we should not countenance in the lower class of colored ones.

No matter, what may be said to the contrary, our future is largely in our own hands. The recent happenings in South Richmond and Fulton have strained the friendly relationship between the races here and again it has strengthened it. We believe if the colored people were organized to maintain the law and to support the present city administration, much good would result in the premises.

As the matter now stands, when a colored person is maltreated or injured by a white person, a solid mass of colored people stand up for the colored person, regardless of the rights of the white one and when a white person is maltreated by a colored person, a solid mass of white people stand up for the white person, be they right or wrong. This is the wrong spirit. Division should be made upon the basis of right and wrong and the color should form no part of it. A colored man, who ruthlessly assaults a white person is an enemy to all of us, endangering our rights and privileges and the same is to be said of a white person, who may do the same thing.

Let us do what we can to win the support of the largely increasing number of white people, who are friendly towards us and let us begin a crusade to reform or punish some of these lawless elements amongst us.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Race Relations - 1921.

Discussions.

HOUSTON'S INTER-RACIAL COMMISSION.

7/23/21 Houston Informer

Our proud and fair city can boast of being the first large city in Texas to endeavor to establish an inter-racial commission, composed of the best men of both races and having for its express object the bettering of relations between the races and improving the status of the black man, which can not be improved without at the same time affecting the white man for good.

This idea, while not original with The Informer, has been our contention repeatedly, for great good can come from such a movement if prejudice can be subordinated and the leaders of both races confer in a free, frank and candid manner.

Co-operation is the battle-cry of the age and with two races living side by side in the South, as a matter of self-preservation it is incumbent upon our white friends to do whatever is in their power towards bettering the condition of our people and allaying distrust, unrest and suspicion.

Houston is a virgin field for such work; not so much to bring about better relations between the races at the point of contact, but to the end that colored citizens might become recipients of many things that are due us as tax payers and citizens of the municipality and commonwealth.

Both races have talked about each other entirely too much and talked to each other entirely too little.

Such program has failed to get any group anywhere and thus wisdom suggests that a new program be adopted and executed and the inter-racial commission, if permitted to function freely and rightly, will go a long way towards remedying some of the evils of which we rightfully complain.

With our magnitudinous and elephantine problems of reconstruction the times demand that as Americans all of us must live together and work together harmoniously, to the end that America can assume the leadership in world affairs and by precept and example lead the civilized world into a better day.

Let us refrain from bringing out the hammer and attempting to knock the movement before it has had an opportunity to function.

It will also be well for the colored commissioners or committeemen to bear in mind that this movement is a community proposition and that its success depends upon teamwork and co-operation and not [illegible] seeking and individualism.

A [illegible] day is in the offing when Southern white men are willing to organize and confer and counsel with colored men on questions of vital importance to the community and here's hoping that the Houston inter-racial commission will live long and that its labors will bear much fruit.

AN IMPORTANT MOVE.

New York Age 7/23/21

One of the most important moves ever made with regard to bringing about better relations between the white and the colored people of the United States was recently made by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. In a recent preliminary meeting held in Washington under the chairmanship of Mr. John J. Eagan of Atlanta, Ga., who is President of the Atlanta Councils of Churches, the day was spent in discussing the questions relating to the Negro in this country. As a result of the discussion a statement embracing eight points was drawn up and unanimously adopted as a program of work. The first four points of this statement are as follows:

"1. To assert the sufficiency of the Christian solution of race relations in America and the duty of the churches and all their organizations to give the most careful attention to this question.

"2. To provide a central clearing house and meeting place for the churches and for all Christian agencies dealing with the relation of the white and Negro races, and to encourage and support their activities along this line.

"3. To promote mutual confidence and acquaintance, both nationally and locally, between the white and Negro churches, especially by state and local conferences between white and Negro ministers. Christian educators and other leaders, for the consideration of their common problems.

"4. To array the sentiment of the Christian churches against mob violence and to enlist their thoroughgoing support in a special program of education on the subject for a period of at least five years."

The other four points in the program related to the distribution of accurate knowledge regarding the race question, the development of public conscience favorable to the Negro, the making more widely known the program of the Council's commission on inter-racial cooperation, and the presentation of the problem of race relations and the Christian solution of it by white and colored speakers, and as many meetings throughout the country as possible.

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America is comprised of thirty-one Protestant Evangelical denominations. This constitutes a body which, if it determines earnestly to bring about an adjustment of the race question, can accomplish the task. If the leaders of so great a religicus body make up their minds, for instance, to stamp out lynching and mob violence against the Negro and tackled the job sincerely, they could abolish that form of crime in the United States within six months.

FEDERATED COUNCIL OF CHURCHES "RECOMMENDS JUSTICE FOR BLACK AMERICANS—WILL THE WHITE CHRISTIANS ACT FAVORABLY ON RECOMMENDATIONS"

Louisville News 8/27/21

([illegible] Negro Press.)

Chicago, Ill., August 18.—The statement of principles and recommendations of the Home Missions Council of the Federal Council of Churches has created something of a sensation in religious circles in this section of the country. It is regarded the mast revolutionary action taken by a religious body in the entire history of the country. The Federad Council of Churches is a combination of the officials of all Protestant churches.

Its main conclusions recommend that "The government, local, State and national, should impartially guarantee to all classes security of life and of property; that :the Negro should have economic justice, equal opportunity to get and hold work on the same terms as other men, and with fair working and living condition;" that "the home of the Negro should receive the same measure of respect as that of other Americans;" that "qualifications for franchise should be administered irrespective of race, color or creed;" and further declares that "respect for Negro manhood and womanhoodd is the only basis for amicable race adjustment, for race integrity and for permanent racial peace." The statement concludes with the following: "If we propose a democratic program for the protection and self-determination of the weak and oppressed people of Europe as a means of permanent peace and good will abroad, let us apply the same program at home."

The full text of the statement and recommendations is as follows;

"The recent race conflicts in some of our cities challage the attention of the Churches of Jesus Christ to their responsibilities respecting an amicable and fair adjustment of race relation in America.

"In the fellowship of the Federated Council of the Churches of Christ in America are included 3,989,852 members of the Negro churches. In speaking, therefore, at this time for humanity and justice, we voice the mind and conscience of both races. The present situation is a challenge to the churches charged with the promotion of the brotherhood of man, which look upon men as entitled to a footing of equaliy of opportunity. This calls for preaching the duty of economic and community justice for the Negro, thus securing peace and good will between the races. Beyond all else the present situation calls for confession on the part of Christian men and women of failure to live up to the standard of universal brotherhood as taught by Jesus Christ.

"In the adjustment of race relations our country has in this crisis not only its own conscience to satisfy, but also to justify itself as a nation before the enlightened opinion of mankind. As a foremost exponent of the ideals of democratic government, the United States has been lifted to the full view of the world. Our present settlement therefore of race relations will influence in a very large measure the settlement of race relations in other parts of the world.

We must face frankly the fact that a most dangerous inter-racial situation now threatens our country. The problems growing out of the presence of two races in America are clearly seen to be nation-wide and the adjustments must necessarily be made on

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

the basis of national responsibility. The migration of thousands of Negroes to the North emphasizes this fact. The outbreaks in several cities and the persistence of the anarchy and treason of lynch-law imperil our democracy.

"The actual practice of the principles of the brotherhood of Christ can prevent such conflicts, and nothing else will. The Church must offer the ideals, the program and the leadership in this crisis. The Church must meet its obligation, or leadership will pass not only ot secular agencies, economic or socialistic, but to forces that are destructive of civilization.

"We must confess that the Church and its ministry as related to the welfare of the Negro has been too little inspired by the fundamental principles and ideals of Jesus Christ. Communities that have expressed horror over atrocities abroad have seen, almost unmoved and silent, men beaten, hanged and also burned by the mob.

"The Negro has ever shown profound faith in God, and has always looked to the Church for leadership, for counsel and for guidance. The Church which for fifty years has a record of almost unmatched service in the education and betterment of the race will now be recreant to her trust and lost her birthright of service if she does not meet [illegible] with a full sense of responsibility and a full measure of service for justice, peace and good will. To this end we therefore urge upon the Church, her ministry and membership this constructive program:

A Constructive Program for Just Inter-Racial Relations.

"1. The government, local, state and national, should impartially guarantee to all classes security of life and of property. Mob violence is becoming a crowd habit. When life and property are ruthlessly taken, when men and women are lynched with no protection from officers or courts, law and order are trampled under foot. We call upon the pulpit, the press and all good people to create a public sentiment that will support necessary legislation for the enforcement of existing laws, that life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness may be equally assured to all classes.

"2. The Negro should have economic justice, equal opportunity to get and hold work on the same terms as other men, with equal pay for equal work, and with fair working and living conditions. The entrance of large numbers of Negroes into various industries emphasizes the necessity of an immediate amicable adjustment of relations with white employers and fellow-workers.

"3. We call upon men and women everywhere to protect the sanctity of the home and womanhood. We record with satisfaction the growing enlistment of Negro leaders in a program of education and Christianization such as tends to prevent crimes that provoke mob violence. The home of the Negro should receive the same measure of respect and protection as that of other Americans, and the sanctity of his home relations should be safeguarded in every possible wya. Swift and impartial action of the law should strike the violator of the sanctity of any home, white or black.

"4. We recognize as fundamental to the welfare and efficiency of society that adequate recreational provisions be made available for Negro citizens.

"5. We strongly endorse the plea of the Negro for equal traveling accommodations for equal charges.

"6. Adequate educational facilities for Negro children and youth should be provided not only as a national obligation, but also as a necessity for national welfare. We emphasize the urgency of giving to the Negro his full share of local and national funds.

"7. Qualifications for franchise should be administered, irrespective of race, creed or color.

"8. Closer co-operation between the races should be promoted by organizing local committees of white and colored people in towns and communities for the consideration of inter-racial welfare. All possible agencies should be enlisted in fostering a spirit of justice and of good-will in the relationship of one race to the other. We recommend that the Governor of each state appoint a standing committee for the careful study of the causes underlying race friction, with a view to their removal, and that Congress be requested through a non-partisan committee to investigate the disturbed and threatening inter-racial situation throughout the nation.

"Racial understanding and co-operation furnish the only sure basis of race adjustment in a democracy. The root of the matter is the failure to recognize the Negro as a man. The basis of distress on both sides is fear, and "fear hath torment." Respect for Negro manhood and womanhood is the only basis for amicable race adjustment, for race integrity and for permanent racial peace. If we talk democracy, let us act democracy. If we propose a democratic program for the protection and self-determination of the weak and oppressed people of Europe as a means of permanent peace and good-will abroad, let us apply the same program at home."

(Signed)

FRANK MASON NORTH,
President of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

ALBERT G. LAWSON,
Chairman Administrative Committee.

WILBUR P. THIRKFIELD,
Chairman of the Committee on Negro Churches.

CHARLES S. McFARLAND,
General Secretary.

(From Home Missions Council, Federal Council of Churches.)

Discharged For Aiding Negroes

Virginia Military Institute Drops Professor Kerlin

He Asked Arkansas Governor to Review Cases of Men Convicted in Elaine Riots

N. Y. C. POST
AUGUST 22, 1921

Col. Robert T. Kerlin, professor of English at the Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, Va., has been expelled from that institution by a resolution of its board of visitors, it was learned to-day, because he wrote a letter to the Governor of Arkansas protesting against what he believed to be unjust sentences of death pronounced on six negroes in connection with the Phillips County riots at Elaine, Ark., in 1919. The resolution said that this action "had rendered his further connection with the Virginia Military Institute undesirable" and a detriment to the institution.

Herbert J. Seligman, who received a copy of the resolution at the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 70 Fifth Avenue, characterized it as "one of the most outrageous assaults upon human and academic dignity ever perpetrated by an institution in this country."

He said that Col. Kerlin, who is the author of "The Voice of the Negro," wrote a letter to Gov. Thomas C. McRae of Arkansas on May 21, 1921. This letter reviewed the trial of the negroes and contended that the evidence "had abundantly and conclusively proved" that the condemned men had not instigated the riots, had armed themselves only when threatened and molested, had been subjected to peonage or slavery, and had been tortured by whipping to make them incriminate themselves and their fellows at their trials.

Col. Kerlin said that the execution of these negro farmers would be a "crucifixion" and entreated the Governor to "take the matter into your private chamber and give it an hour's earnest consideration, as before the Eternal Judge."

Here Is Resolution

The full text of the resolution read as follows:

"Whereas it is the opinion of the board that Col. Kerlin by reason of his interposition in the Elaine Insurrection cases as exemplified by his letter to the governor of Arkansas reflecting upon the administration of justice in that State, and those upon whom the solemn duty rests of enforcing the laws therein (in which connection the board has considered his general activities in interracial matters), has rendered his further connection with the Virginia Military Institute undesirable and his retention of professorship instead of promoting the beneficial ends for which the institute was established, would prove harmful and detrimental thereto, and embarrassing to those responsible for its conduct and management and prejudicial to the interests which it is their duty to guard and protect;

"Therefore Be It Resolved that the Board of Visitors of the Virginia Military Institute are unanimously of the opinion that the usefulness of Col. Robert T. Kerlin at the Virginia Military Institute has ceased, and that his further connection therewith as professor would be detrimental to its welfare, and, thefefore, his immediate resignation is hereby requested, and the secretary is requested to forthwith hand to Col. Kerlin a copy of this resolution."

"Whereas Col. Kerlin has replied to the aforesaid resolution by refusing to resign as therein requested; therefore his employment as professor at the Virginia Military Institute is hereby immediately terminated; his salary, nevertheless, to be paid him until January 1, 1922, or until such time prior thereto as he shall have accepted other employment."

"(Signed) LEWIS E. STEELE,
Secretary of the Board.

Col. Kerlin was graduated from Central College, Lafayette, Mo., in 1890. He continued his studies at Johns Hopkins, the University of Chicago and Harvard and received the degree of Ph. D. from Yale in 1907. He entered the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1895 and served as a chaplain in the Spanish-American War.

He was porfessor of English at Southwestern University, an instructor in English at Yale and taught in various other educational institutions until the outbreak of the war. He went to France and became an instructor in the A. E. F. University at Beaune.

Col. Kerlin has published a book of verse and a number of volumes on English and classical literature, religious subjects, and army life.

Southern White Minister Says White People Are Being More and More Convinced that Negro Is Not Seeking Social Equality

Norfolk Journal and Guide
8/13/21

DESIRE BETTER CONDITIONS

Lake Junaluska, N. C., Aug. 10.—The next big forward step in the solution of the race question will come from the South, the Rev. W. W. Alexander of Atlanta, secretary of the Commission on Inter-Racial Co-operation, predicted here today at the Laymen's Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

"I say this with absolutely due regard for the friendship of the Negro in other sections, and with the fullest and unstinted gratitude for all they have done in philanthropy and education, in church and State," the Rev. Mr. Alexander said. "Nevertheless, the next big step in the inter-racial readjustment is to come from the South, and the reason for this is perfectly apparent.

"The South can afford to do it, and what is a great deal better, there is a growing conviction here based upon a sense of justice and fair play for all men. Then, too, the South has social prestige to do this. The social question figures largely in the race question. So the South can, when it will, take the leadership in international co-operation.

"I believe the South will assume this leadership, with the same sort of pride and determination as it led the nation in the overthrow of the rum traffic.

"It has been the universal opinion of those who have come in close touch with the question that Negro leaders do not desire or seek social equality. They have asked for police protection, better housing, better sanitary and living conditions, better educational facilities, and a chance to develop into useful American citizens with every determination to maintain their own social life and the purity of the two racial stocks.

"The reasonableness and intelligence of Negro leaders greatly encouraged the white men who have come in contact with them. The fact that Southern white men and women have manifested their interest in Negro welfare has gone far to allay the unrest and pessimism which was so rapidly spreading through great sections of the Negro leadership in America."

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH
REEL 14

Race Relations
Discussions

THE INTER-RACIAL MOVEMENT.

Washington Bee 5-21-21

The inter-racial movement is growing throughout the country. It is receiving the hearty support of all peoples, irrespective of creed, and the press, educational, commercial, and political community leaders are rallying to its support.

The commission on inter-racial co-operation has in its wisely, quiet method of proceedure organized in over six hundred counties and many cities. The Bee has always said that one of the aids in the solution of the problems of mob, lynch, and other odious acts in this country, is the co-operation of the cool headed people of both races.

Such an inter-racial co-operation was the outgrowth of a conference which was held in Atlanta early in 1919, to consider some grave problems of race relations that has been brought to the surface on account of the World War. Its greatest organized work is being done in the Southern States. The Bee feels that the better thinking people of both races in the District of Columbia will welcome the new order of things, and will do all in their power for its growth and success. These people have together faced many knotty problems in the District of Columbia, not the least among them being the terrible riot which for a while menaced all human life in the District of Columbia. The Bee suggests that the publications of the commission be given the widest circulation. While these publications do not lay down any hard and fast plan for any State or community, yet they may furnish thought for greater achievement in the fields of literature on the inter-racial subject.

Henry W. Grady's Contribution Toward Racial Good Will

6-25-21 Constitution.

Editor Constitution: Seventy-one years afterwards, Georgia is celebrating the birth of one of her illustrious sons. No man deserves this tribute of honor and devotion more than does Henry W. Grady, that sweet spirit of the south who journeyed to the north to carry to her former foes a message of friendship and good will from the vanquished south—a south just recovering from Sherman's march to the sea, and the iniquities of reconstruction.

And Grady's message was received in the same spirit in which it was given. The south and the north clasped hands, and a decade later the Spanish-American war witnessed the wiping out of the last vestige of sectionalism.

Today, when Europe is torn by jealousies, both petty and great, between her warring states, and stirred by racial animosities, she needs a spirit like Henry W. Grady's to speak from the past and offer a basis for solution. Only in accepting the advice of Grady can the south be prevented from becoming a second Balkans.

Grady's great messages were two-fold—rconciliation between the north and the south, and racial co-operation between the white man and the black. Let us not overlook the two. The south readily accepted the first great principle and has prospered. Grady died "literally loving the nation into peace."

The second has not been so readily followed, and today more than thirty years after his death, his words upon the race question pass almost unheeded. Had we followed his advice we would not now be so embarrassed by certain things which have arisen to plague our souls.

Noblesse Oblige.

We of the superior race have not followed Grady's counsel, and done all we should to eliminate race friction. We have not entered wholeheartedly into a spirit of reconciliation between the two races, as we have done between the two sections. This second path is harder, to be sure, but until we remember that "noblesse oblige," that we of the advantaged have certain obligations to the disadvantaged, that we who are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak—and bear with their infirmities, ofttimes—we can never effect a satisfactory settlement of the race question, and no question is ever settled until it is settled right.

That the reconstruction period did more to set back the progress of the black man, to inflame the passions of the white against the black, and to promote suspicion on the part of the blacks towards their former masters, no fair-minded man can deny. There is no use, however, after forty years have passed, to be continually looking backward and letting the passions of yesterday darken our vision of the future or even obscure the needs of the present.

Grady, with that clear vision, which was always his, saw the folly of looking backward, and spoke words of wisdom to his fellowmen. He knew that the white people of the south must bear the burdens of the race problem, and while the evils of reconstruction were still fresh upon his memory, he refused to be bound by the fetters of the past and looked steadily into the future, pointing out that vision of a new heaven and a new earth, of a city beautiful, of a state righteous.

Grady loved the south, yet he was not sectional, he loved his own people, yet he did not forget the needs of the black men and women and their children around him. He reminded the white man of his obligation to the black. He was not afraid to speak of it. Even outside the bounds of his own state, yet, even in New York, he dared discuss the race question, and to say concerning the negro: "We remember with what fidelity for four years he guarded our defenseless women and children, whose husbands and fathers were fighting against his freedom. To his eternal credit be it said that whenever he struck a blow for his own liberty, he fought in open battle, and when at last he raised his black and humble hands that the shackles might be struck off, those hands were innocent of wrong against his helpless charges, and worthy to be taken in loving grasp by every man who honors loyalty and devotion."

Grady knew, too, that the solution was difficult. At another time he said: "The future holds a problem, in solving which, the south must stand alone; in dealing with which she must come closer together than ambition or despair have driven her, and on the outcome of which her very existence depends. This problem is to carry within her body politic two separate races, and nearly equal in numbers. She must carry these races in peace, for discord means ruin. She must carry them separately, for assimilation means debasement. She must carry them in equal justice, for to this she is pledged in honor and gratitude. She must carry them even unto the end, for in human probability we will never be quit of either.

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"Not in passion, my countrymen, but in reason—not in narrowness, but in breadth—that we may solve this problem in calmness and in truth, and lifting its shadows, let perpetual sunshine pour down on two races, walking together in peace and contentment.

"If the problem be solved at all—and I firmly believe it will, though nowhere else has it been—it will be solved by the people most deeply bound in interest, most deeply ledged in honor to its solutino. I had rather see my people render back this question rightly solved than to see them gather all the spoils over which faction has contended since Cataline conspired and Caesar fought.

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"Self-interest, as well as honor, demands that he should have this. Our future, our very existence, depend upon our working out this problem in full and exact justice. The south, with the north, protests against injustice to this simple and sincere people. Faith will be kept with him in the future, if the south holds her reason and integrity."

At Augusta, shortly before his death, he advocated the only solution to the race problem which reason can offer, namely, education. "Let us educate him (the negro) so that he may no longer be the sport of the thoughtless or the prey of the unscrupulous. . . . Let us lead him in steadfast ways of citizenship." Pity is that we do not attempt to carry out wholeheartedly the suggestion of Grady.

In several states of the south, notably in Alabama, North Carolina and Virginia, state-wide efforts are being made, and leaders are actually trying to work out the race problem in something like a spirit of intelligent co-operation. Georgia, which gave Grady to the south and to the nation, should take heed to the great message which he gave to us in dying. I can only close this article by repeating Grady's quotation in his famous address before the New England society dinner in New York: "There was a south of slavery and secession—that south is dead. There is a south of union and freedom—that south—thank God, is living, breathing, growing every hour."

JAS. L. SIBLEY,
Extension Professor of Social Work,
University of Georgia.

Atlanta Constitution 6-26
Atlanta Independent

Editor Constitution:

Seventy-one years afterwards, Georgia is celebrating the birth of one of her illustrious sons. No man deserves this tribute of honor and devotion more than does Henry W. Grady, that sweet spirit of the South who journeyed to the North to carry to her former foes a message of friendship and good will from the vanquished South—a South just recovering from Sherman's march to the sea, and the iniquities of reconstruction.

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(over)

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

(From Over)

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"We open to him (the Negro) every pursuit in which he can prosper, and seek to broaden his training and capacity. We seek to hold his confidence and friendship, and to pin him to the soil with ownership, that he may catch in the fire of his own hearthstone that sense of responsibility the shiftless can never know. And we gather him into that alliance of intelligence and responsibility that though it now runs close to racial lines, welcomes the responsible and intelligent of any race. By this course, confirmed in our judgment and justified in the progress already made, we hope to progress slowly but surely to the end.

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JAS. L. SIBLEY.
Extension Professor of Social Work, University of Georgia.

RACE RELATIONS TAUGHT.

6/2/21
Baptist Vanguard

University of Arkansas,
College of Arts and Sciences,
Fayetteville, Ark., Feb. 22, 1921.

President Jos. A. Booker, Little Rock, Ark.:

Dear Sir—In reply to your letter of the 17th, will say that the course on Race Relations is only in th formative stage. I plan to start it next term, which begins March 30, and am at work on the outline. Roughly speaking, the outline will run something like this:

Historic survey.
Economic conditions.
Social conditions.
Schools.
The church.
Health.
Political.
Civil justice.
Achievements of the colored race.
Aspirations of the colored race.

My general plan is to study largely from books and magazines here next term, and then I hope that those who take the course will be sufficiently interested to go home and study at first hand. There, I hope, that they will meet sympathetic response from your people.

Will you please give the names and addresses of one or two of the best Negro newspapers published in this State. Perhaps, you had as well give all, four, I believe, and then I can send for copies and judge which will probably be of most use for our purpose. Very truly yours,

D. Y. Thomas.

EXCERPT OF SPEECHES MADE BY THE IMMORTAL HENRY W. GRADY OF ATLANTA, GA. WHOSE BIRTH WAS CELEBRATED LAST WEEK; WE SUBMIT THESE SPEECHES FOR THE PERUSAL OF SOUTHERN PEOPLE

Times Plain Dealer
6/4/21

"The Stoutest Apostle of The Church We Say Is the Missionary—The Missionary Wherever He Unfolds His Banner Tonight, Will Never Find Himself in Deeper of Unction and Address, Than I Bidden To Discuss the Duty That We As White Men Owe to the Negro in the Southland."

"The future holds a problem, in solving which the South must stand alone; in dealing with which she must come closer together than ambition or despair have driven her, and on the outcome of which her very existence depends. This problem is to carry within her body politic two separate races, and nearly equal in number. She must carry these races in peace, for discord means ruin. She must carry them separately, for assimilation means debasement. She must carry them in equal justice, for to this she is pledged in honor and gratitude. She must carry them even unto the end, for in human probability we will never be quit of either.

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DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Race Relations — 1921.

Tamphlet

Governor Dorsey's Pamphlet on the Negro in Georgia (Comments on)

135 CASES CITED OF MISTREATMENT TO NEGROES HERE

Booklet Prepared by Governor Hugh Dorsey Given Out for Publication Saturday Afternoon.

CASES WERE REPORTED WITHOUT SOLICITATION

Constitution

Peonage, Lynching, Organized Lawlessness and Individual Cases of Cruelty Are Mentioned.

4/24/21

Basing his material on reliable information furnished him during the past two years, Governor Hugh M. Dorsey has prepared a booklet on "The Negro in Georgia," which deals with lynching, cruelty and holding in peonage of blacks. The phamphlet mentions the celebrated Williams' "murder farm" case, and while no names are mentioned by the governor, an excellent index of the real evidence in his possession is outlined.

At a meeting of the inter-racial committee at the Piedmont Friday, Governor Dorsey read his booklet and went into an interesting discussion of conditions in this state. His presentation of the matter and the interest he has taken in improving the situation, which was brought to a climax by the John S. Williams case, has attracted much favorable comment.

The governor divided his discussion into four parts—the negro lynched, the negro held in peonage, the negro driven out by organized lawlessness and the negro subject to individual acts of cruelty. One hundred and thirty-five examples of alleged mistreatment of negroes in Georgia were mentioned. All the cases were reported to the governor without solicitation, he stated, and in presenting them he declared that the majority of the better element of Georgia citizens condemned the acts of lawlessness.

Some of the cases mentioned by the governor were as follows:

THE NEGRO LYNCHED.

County No. 1.

1. July, 1919, two white men, drunk, went to the negro section of a town in this county atnight. An elderly negro got his gun and went into the streets, it is claimed, to protectthewomen of his race. In the shooting which followed one of the white men was killed.

The negro was placed in the jail. The sheriff left him there with no guard, to go to anotherplace to get a prisoner. A county commissioner, hearing that a mob was coming, went to the jail to remove the prisoner, but could find no key to unlock the door. The mob had the key. They lynched the negro.

County No. 2.

2. October, 1919, a negro was taken from the sheriff, who was carrying him from one county to another for safe keeping and lynched. The negro was a preacher and teacher. Schools and churches were closed on account of influenza, and the negro went to work for a farmer.

In a disptue about extra work, the farmer attacked the negro with an ax. The negro raised his gun the farmer turned and received a load of bird shot in the back. The negro fled but was brought back. The sheriff heard a mob threatening and removed the negro to another county. The sheriff of this county, hearing of a mob, started with the negro to another county, but was overtaken as described above.

The man shot by the negro is alive.

County No. 3.

A negro charged with assault upon a white girl, was tied to a tree and shot to death in January, 1921. No indictment has ever been found, no arrest made.

Negro Held in Peonage.

County No. 7.

1. (a) In 1920 a negro on the place of a white farmer in this county made a crop of 2 1-2 bales of cotton and two 2-horse wagon loads of corn. The crop was turned over to the white farmer, who claimed the negro still owed him $118. In September the negro ran away to Atlanta, where he was arrested and carried back and put in jail. A brother of the complaining farmer, made the man's bond and carried him to his farm, where the negro worked a week. He escaped and walked to Atlanta, where he was arrested again the day that he arrived, February 13, and carried back again. In his presence, the negro charges, the farmer offered to sell him to another man, if the man would pay him $55.

The whites deny this, but one admits that the other said something about paying him for the expense of his Atlanta trip. He says that he settled with the negro in December, 1920, when the negro agreed to work through 1921 for $12.50 a month and his board, the farmer agreeing to cancel the debt of $118. On this new trade, the farmer advanced the negro $3 and bought goods for him amounting to $8. The negro the same day ran away. It was on account of this $3 in cash and the goods, that the warrant for cheating and swindling was sworn out.

The wife of the negro, mother of a girl of nine, and a boy eight years old, confirms her husband's story with the additional information that the farmer knifed her husband while they were killing hogs, for some trivial infraction of the farmer's orders.

(b) Another negro worked for the same farmer in 1920. The farmer claims to have paid him $15 a month and board, and that December 12, the negro agreed to work during 1921, when he, the farmer, advanced $5 to pay for a pair of shoes for him. That night the negro ran away. A warrant for cheating and swindling was sworn out and the negro brought back. The farmer made a bond of $50 for the negro, who agreed to work for him for seven months at $12.50 per month and board.

The negro claims that last year he was to receive $25 a month, but received nothing but a suit or two of overalls, some work shirts and shoes. He has received no settlement for last year, he says. He admits the shoes being purchased for him, but says he paid back $2 before leaving. Threatened with the chain gang, he went to work for the last man, but ran away because the farmer struck him in the face with his fist, and threatened him.

Concerning William's Case.

(e) A negro was sentenced to 30 days in the Fulton county chain gang for vagrancy. When he had served enough of his time to pay his fine excepting $5, the son of a farmer in this county paid him out.

With ten other negroes he was carried to the man's farm, where they were locked up for the night. They were guarded by two armed negroes, by day and locked up every night.

The man stayed from February 1 until September 1st when he and another negro ran away. They were caught, brought back, and whipped. The other negro begged to be killed. The white owner shot him. A weight was put upon him. His body was put in a nearby pond back of the owner's home.

Fifteen negroes were working on the place. They were frequently beaten.

(f) Another negro was arrested in Atlanta and fined $25 for keeping late hours. The same white man paid the fine in April, 1920, and carried the negro to the farm to work upon a promise of $40 per month, board and lodging. Three other negroes were carried there at the same time. He remained for four months, when he escaped. He was caught and carried back, severely whipped and locked up.

He was whipped twice. He claims to have seen another negro beaten and then shot by a negro for running away, and at the instance of the white.

Since the investigation, the owner of one of these places has been indicted for killing eleven negroes on his place. He was convicted and sentenced to imprisonment for life in one of these cases, April 8, 1921.

His three sons were on April 11 indicted for murdering negroes.

His sons are fugitives.

The murders are alleged to have been committed to conceal the crime of peonage.

NEGRO DRIVEN OUT BY ORGANIZED LAWLESSNESS.

County No. 10.

1. A white man in this county received the following notice in January, 1921:

"NOTICE

"To Mr. .....you had better keep negroes out of this house of yours if you don't everything you have got will be burned down to the ground.

"beWare and take notice

"NITE Rider. X"

County No. 11.

2. Negroes were being worked on a railroad in this county. A small mob visited the camp in February, 1921. They notified the white foreman and the negroes that if they continued to work, while white men wanted jobs, they would be mobbed. A number of the negroes were frightened away. The sheriff of the county protests that there was no danger. This occurred January, 1921.

County No. 12.

3. December 31, 1920, a negro living in this county was taken from his home and badly beaten.

The same month, small coffins gruesomely painted with a skull and cross bones, were left on the porches of two negro homes.

County No. 13.

4. January, 1921, negroes in one district of this county were notified that no negroes would be permitted to remain in that district.

At 2 a. m., January 12, a negro living in this district was called from his bed by unknown parties. They asked him if he had made threats against the Ku Klux Klan. He answered "no." He was informed that he would be given until Saturday night to leave the district; that if he did not leave, there would probably be war against him. They asked him if he had seen the notice posted on the nearby negro school house and said that notice meant all negroes must leave, and that they had notified thirty negro families that night. No negroes were to be permitted to remain in the district. Firing two shots in the air, the parties left.

Then otice reads:

"Notice to the Colored people of.. if you haivent got a job you had better get one at once.

If you are not done gathering your crop you had better finish and settle your accounts.

If you or disposing of your crop you had better be at home by dark if you havent got a lawful excuse for being out.

"WHITE CAPS."

The same night, the home of another negro farmer was fired into, the shot striking the ceiling just above the head of the bed. The negro was out of the house at the time.:

The governor sent the sheriff of the county a wire calling attention to the charges against the Ku Klux Klan and saying: "Negroes have been called from their homes, shots fired, threats made to do them physical injury, if they had not left by night. I have four affidavits of negroes who have never been in court and some of whom own their own homes. This is an outrage and I beg that you will go into this district this afternoon and tonight with ample force not only to protect these negroes, but for the purpose of making such a display as will deter these worthless white people from continuing their campaign of terror."

January 17, the sheriff replied by letter: "Pursuant to your telegram, I have gone to the place directed by you and have made an investigation of thetrouble accredited to the Ku-Klux Kan, and I find it is the general belief that it is not the Ku-Klux-Kan, but some lawless element in the community there causing the trouble.

"As best I can find out, the Ku-Klux-Kan is also conducting an investigation for the purpose of ascertaining who the parties are in order that the law may be vindicated.

"I shall keep in touch with the matter and co-operate with the citizens of the community affected, and shall do all within my power to protect the citizens."

The sheriff's letter bears the seal of the Ku-Klux-Kan, and this indorseemnt: "Indorsed by Cameron Klan No. 17, Realm of Georgia."

County No. 13.

5. A negro was killed without excuse, it is said, by a deputy officer in this county in the latter part of 1920. A negro minister, in preaching the funeral, said that some line of protection for the lives and property of negroes should be formed. As a result, leading negroes were ordered to leave the place of suffer fer the consequences. Most of them left. Some armed themselves and remained. The better element of whites protected them.

INDIVIDUAL ACTS OF CRUELTY.

County No. 21.

1. Near a small town in this county a negro was born fifty-eight or sixty years ago. By work, he accumulated a little money with which, ten years later, he bought a farm of 140 acres, where he lived with his wife and twelve children. Three of his daughters were educated. They were school teachers.

A three-room house was on the farm. The farm was well stocked, the negro owning in 1919 outright five mules, and having made payments on the purchase of a horse, a cow and thirty-five hogs.

During the war with Germany his negro family brought approximately $1,000 worth of Liberty bonds and thrift stamps. The negro headed an organization of negroes who raised between $10,000 and $11,000 for Liberty bonds. His work was highly praised by newspapers at the time.

A white man, who can neither read nor write, owns a farm adjoining the farm of the negro. When the articles praising the man for his war work appeared, the white man remarked: "——'s getting too damned prosperous and bibbity for a nigger." Trouble began.

The white man had his land processioned. The negro had no representative present. The processioners ran the man's line 25 feet over the engro's line, across a terrace which had been there since the negro was a child working for the family from whom he bought the land. The deed given to him covered the land to this terrace.

The white man crossed the terrace, drove stakes along the new line and warned the negro not to cross the line. The negro disregarded the warning and continued to plow to the terrace, as he had been doing since boyhood.

Blacks and whites from the country crowd the town Saturday afternoons. One Saturday, the fall of 1919, the negro with his three daughters and son came to town. The town marshal approached the negro in the street and said: 'I have a warrant for you."

The negro answered: "Mr. ——, what have I done? Read your warrant."

The marshal replied with an oath that he would rather kill the negro than read the warrant.

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(From over)

Here the evidence varies. The negro had a stick in his hand. Some say that the marshal, who is large and powerful, grabbed the stick and struck the negro in the face with a pistol, knocking him down. Others state that the negro, raising his stick, backed away, when the marshal rushed in and struck him to the ground with his pistol. Several other white men rushed upon him and began to choke and beat him.

Two of his daughters started to him. A man kicked one girl in the stomach. The other reached her father and began to wipe the blood from his face. The three were quickly overpowered. The third daughter and the son were caught. All were locked in jail. The girl who was kicked was menstruating. The blow made her deathly sick. She lay in jail moaning and begging that something be done for her, and her father, who was bleding badly from his wounds. The sheriff locked them in and left them without medical attention and ignorant of the charge against them.

Next morning the negro learned that his neighbor had sworn out a warrant against him for trespass. The sheriff refused to tell him what the charge was against his son and daughters. The negro employed a lawyer. Then he found that he and his daughters were charged with resisting an officer in the discharge of his duty, his son with carrying a pistol. Only one witness claimed to have seen the pistol. This was the white neighbor, who said that he had seen the son put the pistol in the buggy, while the crowd was on his father. The buggy was searched. The pistol was not found.

Talk of lynching the negro and his family caused their removal to another county. A committee of citizens waited upon the judge of the circuit, who informed them, it is charged, that he would put the negro in the chaingang, when the case should come up for trial.

The man, his daughters and son were tried in the superior court. The father was sentenced to serve twelve months in the chaingang and pay a fine of $250. The girls were fined $50 each. The son was fined $100. The negro paid the fines of his children.

The man's smaller children and his wife were in his home, while he was in jail. A mob led by the town marshal went to the house, kicked the door and demanded admittance, then shot up the house and went away. This was night.

Next morning, the woman and her children, fled from her home never to return.

A friend went by night and removed the live-stock belonging to the family, and sold it for them at a great sacrifice. Their crop was a total loss. They will be lynched it is said, if any of them ever return to their home.

Reputable merchants and bankers in this county unite in giving the negro and his family a good character. The son has been offered a loan of $450 by a leading farmer to pay a note, the holder of which threatened suit during these troubles. A leading merchant gave the father a line of credit running from $800 to $1,500 a year. One of the best citizens of the county signed his bond.

The education of his children and the success of his thrift seem to be the sole offense of the negro.

County No. 22.

2. A white citizen of this county had a negro boy arrested for failing to comply with his contract to work for him. The boy's defense was—he was drafted for service in our army, where he served fifteen months. This service caused him to break the contract.

A successful negro farmer came to the court house of the county to sign the boy's bond. The accuser was there. When the negro was signing the bond, which the sheriff said he would accept, the white, declaring "no negro shall help another negro to beat me out of my money," shot the negro twice.

No effort was made to arrest the white man, and the first grand jury refused to indict him. Subsequently he was arrested, indicted and convicted in April, 1920, of "shooting at another." His sentence was twelve months and six months in jail or a fine of $300. The negro recovered.

The character of the white is shown by his conviction of rape upon a negro woman under circumstances so vile that a white jury convicted him and sentenced him to twelve months in the penitentiary in January, 1920.

County No. 23.

3. In November, 1920, a negro preacher was forced at the point of a pistol to enter a motor car. He was carried three miles into the country, stripped, tied to a log and beaten. He was left unconscious. When he recovered consciousness, he left the county. He knows the names of those who beat him, but dares not tell for fear of death. The sheriff of the county writes the governor:

"I understand this negro has been trying to organize the negro women at ———— not to wash or cook for the white people only for a certain price is the reason he was whipped. I also don't think it would do any good to offer a reward, because we won't be able to convict anybody unless the negro that got whipped will swear to the parties."

The Remedy.

To end these conditions I would suggest

1. Publicity, namely, the careful gathering and investigation by Georgians, and not by outsiders, of facts as to the treatment of the negro throughout the state and the publication of these facts to the people of Georgia.

2. An organized campaign by the churches to place in every section of Georgia a sufficient number of Sunday schools and churches, where in their separate places of worship, the young and old of both races will learn from suitable teachers the gospel of justice, mercy and mutual forbearance for all.

3. Compulsory education for both races.

4. The organization of state committees on race relations, one committee composed of leading white citizens, another of leaders among the negroes, and local committees made up in the same manner in each county of the state, the committees to confer together when necessary concerning matters vital to the welfare of both races.

5. The repeal of Code Section 716, which together with 715 reads:

"715. Procuring money on contract for services fraudulently. If any person shall contract with another to perform for him services of any kind, with intent to procure money or other thing of value thereby, and not to perform the service contracted for, to the loss and damage of the hirer, or, after having so contracted, shall procure from the hirer money, or other thing of value, with intent not to perform such service, to the loss and damage of the hirer, he shall be deemed a common cheat and swindler, and upon conviction shall be punished as for a misdemeanor.

"716. Proof of intent to defraud. Satisfactory proof of the contract, the procuring thereon of money or other thing of value, the failure to perform the services so contracted for, or failure to return the money so advanced with interest thereon at the time said labor was to be performed, without good and sufficient cause, and loss or damage to the hirer, shall be deemed presumptive evidence of the intent referred to in the preceding section."

6. The enactment of laws—

(a) Establishing a state constabulary under proper safeguards and authorizing the governor, upon his own motion, to send members of such force into any county of the state to quell disorder or to protect the life and property of any citizen.

(b) Imposing a financial penalty upon any county in which a lynching may occur.

(c) Authorizing the governor of the state to appoint at any time any three judges of the superior court to act as a commission to investigate any lynching occurring in any county of the state and empowering the governor to remove from office any public official found by such commission to have failed to enforce or uphold the law.

(d) Giving the governor the discretion and power in any case of mob violence or lynching to authorize and direct any judge of the superior court to draw grand and petit juries from the state at large for the consideration and trial of such cases, and authorize the governor to designate the place at which the trial or trials shall be held.

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Race Relations - 1921.

Individual Discussions

Governor Dorsey's Pamphlet on the Negro in Georgia (Comments on)

The Power of the National Government; Its Interference

Atlanta Independent

6-4-21

Editor Constitution: This is "a white man's country." Let us keep t so!

It can only be done by the observance and enforcement of law. Governor Dorsey's paper on the subject is not a new thing. It is an old cry, a warning unheeded, given and emphasized by the lawyers at Tybee island at the 33d annual session of the Georgia Bar Association on June 3, 1916.

In his address on that occassion Judge Samuel B. Adams said:

"The published statistics show that last year there were sixty-nine lynchings in the United States. More than one-fourth of them occurred in Georgia; fifty-five were negroes, three were women. In not less than four cases it was demonstrated, after the lynching, that the persons lynched were innocent of the offense charged against them. A number of the charges were small offenses. All good citizens deplore our disgraceful record. . . . No man ought to be elected governor of Georgia who hesitates to come out flat-footed against lynching, whatever the cause, and without evasion or turnings." (Report referred to, pages 157-161.)

Luther Z. Rosser, in his able paper, says:

"Lynching now disgraces and has long disgraced the State of Georgia, more than any other State except Mississippi and Louisiana. From 1890 to 1905 there were in Georgia 237 lynchings. . . . He is the arch traitor of them all who as the purchase price of its votes, corruptly defies the mob as the savior of the state from courts which he claims are inefficient, and from governors he charges are faithless." (Pages 111-115.)

The address of Robert C. Alston is a very able and comprehensive one. It gave me pleasure then, as it does now, to indorse it and say of it: "He has sounded a note of warning to us. Let us heed it."

Mr. Alston cited and discussed at length the fourteenth amendment and the power of congress to enforce its provisions by appropriate legislation, and he cited a number of decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, on statutes passed under it, for the protection of the Negro—among them the conspiracy law, discriminating laws, the civil rights act of 1875, and the ruling that these laws only prevented the states from discriminating against them, and he took great comfort in the decision of Mr. Justice Harlan in 109th United States, in which he held the last named act unconstitutional, though in that decision the punishment of a Virginia judge by a federal court for refusing to draw negroes on the jury was affirmed.

Mr. Alston further said:

"The experience of the state in the reconstruction era, and especially in the earlier days thereof, left its white people with a determination that the government of this state should be in the hands of its white citizens. This was the result of both self interest and altruistic impulses. It is not the purpose of this paper to break down that determination. It is my purpose to speak to you to the end that the people of this state do nothing which imperil this condition.

"If congress can punish a judge for refusing to include any negroes in the jury list for the purpose of trying a negro, why can it not punish a sheriff for refusing to protect a negro while awaiting trial?

"If congress has the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions which prevent a state from taking life and liberty or property of its citizens by due process of law, why may it not determine that in order to fulfill this guarantee it may make the sheriff directly amenable to its jurisdiction in such matters?

"It is, of course, first the duty of the citizen to refrain from lawlessness, and thereby deprive the general government of excuse for this interference with state laws.

"It is next the duty of the state to so order its laws that the insufficiency of them will not be so glaring and atrocious.

"No one who has the slightest knowledge of the subject doubts but that the laws of this state are inadequate to the subject, both as to enactment and administration.

"No person who is the custodian of an atom of the state's power should be unmindful of the fact that every time he so uses that power that it deprives any citizen of the United States of life, liberty or property without due process of law, or denies to him the equal protection of the law, he challenges the national gvernment to assert more and more its power to the exclusion of the power of the state.

"If the state fail to give adequate protection, how shall the federal government exercise its power to fulfill the guarantee of the fourteenth amendment?

"The amendment itself says that it shall be done by appropriate legislation. Who shall determine what is appropriate legislation? Manifestly congress in the first instance, finally the courts.

"W[illegible]ill say that it will not in time [illegible]ate the entire subject of intoxic[illegible] liquors?

"Thes[illegible]e mentioned to show you that [illegible]e can wisely say that, because [illegible]federal government has not r[illegible]d into a given subject hereto[illegible] it will not do so now.

"No one who feels himself the guardian of state rights will for one moment dare arouse the power of the federal government to exercise its power to guarantee, by appropriate legislation, that the state will not deprive a citizen of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny him the equal protection of the law.

"It can no longer be said that lynching is committed for one crime; it is only a few months ago that two negroes were lynched for killing a mule. Everybody knows that condition ought not to exist, and yet none raises his hand to its cure. Does not this all but invite the federal government to take cognizance of the guarantee?"

Mr. Alston made a number of suggestions as to how the law should be amended, and insisted that it was the state's primary duty to prevent lynching, and warned us that if we failed to do it, the strong arm of the federal government would reach out and take charge of the whole matter, and that it would probably result in very great injury to the state. (Report page 141.)

J. BRANHAM.

Rome, Ga., May 29, 1921.

Confederate Veteran

6/4/21, Praises Dorsey Constitution

Editor Constitution: Please permit me a short space in your valuable paper, as a Georgian, born Democrat, to offer a few thoughts on the pamphlet gotten up and published by our Governor, Honorable Hugh M. Dorsey, about which much has been written and spoken, on the question of lynching and peonage in this state.

The information contained in this pamphlet was not haphazard, trumped up stuff, gathered at random, nor shots in the dark or in the back, but was in front, in open daylight, after investigation, due consideration and consultation with some of the best and most conservative men in the state, whose judgment and character cannot successfully be denied.

Our governor does not shoot off his mouth half-cocked, was not born that way. His sole purpose was to arouse the people of this grand old state, and especially the officers to the sworn duty which they owe to the state and themselves, in supressing outrages committed within its borders, and in upholding the state and dignity of the law and punishing criminals for their outrageous crimes, and to prevent a very small percentage of her people from disgracing the state and casting a slur on her people. His object was pure and sincere, without the slightest taint of politics, or hope of personal reward or preferment. He saw the trouble and sought to prevent future occurences by his earnest ap[illegible] of law. He is as far from social equality and negro domination a[illegible] any man in Georgia and will uphold her honorable record to the last drop of his blood. I know him and his ancestors down to the fifth generation and he is absolutely incapacitated by nature, education and environment to cast a slur on his state, which has honored him and placed him in the governor's chair by one of the largest majorities ever given to any one of his predecessors. He has been faithful to the trust committed to him and his record is clean, clear, manly and not excelled by anyone. Why besmirch this splendid record and good name with insinuations and innuendos and harsh criticisms on the negro question, when he was simply urging and pleading for justice and righteousness to prevail, rather than mob law and violence. If there has been a time in the history of the state when manly and fearless men were needed as our officers, this surely is the day. Our farms and manufacturing interest need labor and production to replace the waste of war, and money will not flow into our state where personal liberty and property are not guarded by obedience, and protected by law. When we permit a comparatively few lawless people to perpetrate these crimes without arrest or arraignment before the courts of justice, then we are bordering on anarchy and the very foundation stone of American government, for which our forefathers fought and won, is being undermined and the generations yet unborn, will reap the fearful consequences.

One of the principal planks in Governor Dorsey's platform while canvassing the state for the governorship, was the enforcement of law and abiding by the verdict of the court, after fair trial and he has lived up to this principle.

Now the remedy! Stop this harsh criticism and nagging, which does the state harm and all agree to be law abiding citizens, dealing justly, acting the part of good Georgians, overlooking some of the frailties of the negro and all work together in maintaining the good name of the state.

A. J. SHROPSHIRE.

Atlanta, Ga., May 31, 1921.

ASK IMPEACHMENT OF HUGH DORSEY

Action by Legislature Demanded at Meeting Friday Night Attended by About Fifty People.

Constitution 6/25/21

Impeachment of Governor Dorsey for "misconduct in office" because of his circulation of his pamphlet discussing the negro situation in Georgia was urged at a meeting held at the Kimball house Friday night which was attended by about 50 people some of whom were members of the legislature. Miss Alif Benton, of Macon, representing patriotic societies in that city was the principal speaker appearing in the place of Judge Charles T. Bartlett, of Macon, who was unable to be present. Dr. Caleb A. Ridley, pastor of the Central Baptist church, also spoke briefly.

Miss Benton announced that Judge Bartlett probably would arrive in Atlanta Saturday to attend

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The Negro Year Book

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the inauguration of Governor-elect Hardwick and she told members of the legislature they could confer with him about the legality of impeachment proceedings Saturday afternoon in room 102 Kimball house.

In her speech Miss Benton charged that the Catholic church, through its negro mission board, has been working among the negroes of the south to scatter propaganda which she said was one of the causes of the present conditions. She denounced the Atlanta inter-racial committee and the inter-racial committees of Macon for action tending to "break down the color line." She read excerpts from articles printed in negro newspapers to the effect that there is a world-wide movement to "secure full rights" for the negro. She called emphatically on the members of the legislature "to expose the negro in the woodpile in Georgia" and to "support legislation which will let the people know who is responsible for the circulation of vicious propaganda."

In answer to a question Dr. Ridley declared that Governor Dorsey did not compile the information appearing in his pamphlet. Dr. Ridley said this information was collected by trained negro workers who visited all parts of the state and who obtained their training while in the Y. M. C. A. service. He said these workers did not go to court records but went to "sore heads" and negroes for their information. He charged that Marion Jackson, of Atlanta, wrote the pamphlet for Governor Dorsey and paid for its circulation. He said that if misconduct in office is an impeachable offense then Governor Dorsey can be impeached.

Miss Benton said that there are organizations in Georgia "100,000 strong" which have sworn "with their hand in God's" that they will see Georgia's name vindicated. She said if the members of the legislature do not impeach Governor Dorsey the organizations will work all over Georgia in the next election to place in office a legislature which will impeach him.

The meeting closed with an informal discussion of plans to be carried out to bring impeachment proceedings before the legislature at this session.

PROMINENT SAVANNAHIANS BACK STAND TAKEN FOR LAW BY GOVERNOR DORSEY

50 Prominent Citizens Attend Conference Held In Atlanta

BISHOPS AND MINISTERS IN ACCORD

PUBLICATION OF PAMPHLET CONTAINING DATA WAS DIRECTED BY COMMITTEE WHICH ASSUMED RESPONSIBILITY

Judge Samuel B. Adams of Savannah, who was among the fifty prominent Georgians signing a statement upholding the stand taken by Governor Dorsey in regard to the race conditions in Georgia, was one of the Savannahians who were invited to attend the meeting held in Atlanta last Wednesday to discuss the matter. The meeting was the result of a call to a group of citizens from all over the state, and was attended by a large number of prominent men and women who considered the race conditions with particular reference to the governor's published statement on the subject of the Negro in Georgia. The result of the meeting was the hearty endorsement of the governor's position in the matter.

Judge Adams' Statement

"Upon the request of a number of meeting held in Atlanta on the 25th instant. The purpose of it was to take counsel together as to the condition of affairs in Georgia, the publication of the pamphlet entitled "The Negro in Georgia," and as to the best means of stemming a tide of lawlessness. It was my first meeting. There must have been more than fifty citizens present, among them a number of prominent and representative ladies We were together from 11:00 o'clock untill about 5:00 in the afternoon, with a recess for lunch and the discussion continued during the lunch.

Judge Cobb's Paper

"A paper was read by Judge Andrew J. Cobb of Athens, one of the original committee. Like everything from Judge Cobb, it was calm, dispassionate and forceful. He stated the publication of the pamphlet containing the data was directed by the committee, of which he was a member, and this committee assumed its full responsibility therefor. By unanimous action of the meeting last Wednesday, his paper was endorsed and its publication directed. To the extent of its reading, it will do good, and will particularly appeal to thoughtfu and intelligent men who are not politicians, "have 'no axe to grind,' and are not concerned in playing politics with a situation that is extermely acute and ought to be very painful to every Georgian.

All to Sign

"It was also unanimously agreed that the executive committee publish a shorter paper, in the nature of an address to the public and within the terms of the report made at the meeting by this committee, and of the address of Judge Cobb, to which the names of all of those present at the last meeting should be signed. My impression was that this paper would not be given to the public until some time this week. I judge from the morning paper that in some way the substance of its contents has been given publicity. A reading, however, of the full paper will be necessary to its exact understanding.

"The consensus of opinion—I may say, the unanimous agreement—was that while a few statements in the pamphlet—a very few—may not be susceptible of full, proof, yet there were a number of incidents in Georgia of a most deplorable character which the pamphlet did not notice, and that, therefore, the statement was in substance, not overdrawn. The conclusion was that, while the remedy by publication seemed to be heroic, was calculated to cause some excitement and censure and would be utilized by politicians, who, in order to get or keep office, would rather pat people on the back and appear as their champions, whether the truth was told or not, than admit the truth and address themselves courageously to the remedy of the evil. this remedy was necessary and justified.

True Georgians

"It is certainly true that there was not a man or woman presents against whom the charge could be truthfully made that be or she was not true to Georgia, or bore it slack allegiance, or did not desire the advancement of its best interests. It may be good politics to make such statements, but they do not embody the truth or conduce to the real interests of the state.

Not Ignore Facts.

"The unanimous sentiment of al present was that whatever the remedy for the lawlessness (using language that I used in a public address some years ago), it certainly does not lie in the denial or suppression or ignoring of the facts, and that it is the part not only of honesty, but of wisdom to look the facts squarely in the face, impress upon our people their extreme gravity and their great evil to the state of Georgia, not only to its highest and best interests, but also even to its material and business interests, and in a presistent, uncompromising effort to stop the evil."

Judge Adams' stand in the matter is attested by his signature to the statement which has just been given to the public, and the stand of the other Savannahians who were invited to attend the meeting but were unable to be present is given in the following statements given by them this morning.

Bishop in Sympathy

The Rt. Rev. F. F. Reese, D. D., bishop of Georgia said:

"I am entirely in sympathy with the action of the governor, and regret that I was unable to attend the meeting in Atlanta last week, held for the purpose of considering race conditions in Georgia and answering the criticisms of Governor Dorsey's statement.

I do not know the proofs of all the cases he has cited in his statement, but I should say that they were all entirely probable. Certainly we do know enough about things which have happened in Georgia to make us believe that these particular instances have happened also.

"The governor's appeal is to arouse the conscience of the people of Georgia, and it is absolutely necessary that this be done, if we are to have any improvement in the situation."

The Rt. Rev. Benjamin J. Keiley bishop of Savannah, heartily endorses the stand taken by Gov. Dorsey.

In Complete Accord

Rev. John Durham Wing, D. D., said this morning:

"I am absolutely and completely in accord with the governor on the stand he has taken in regard to the treatment of the Negro in Georgia.

"The time has come when the best people in Georgia should look the matter in the face and realize that things have happened in the past which are not right. The only possible chance of building up a right sentiment is to give the public the facts, and this the governor has done in the pamphlet he has published.

"It is absurd that such publicity gives notoriety and unpleasant publicity to the state. It is not the publicity which brings disgrace on the state, but the commission of the crimes themselves.

"I have been praying for ten years that a governor would rise up in Georgia and take a stand against the things which have happened here. The condemnation of his stand by a few political demagogues does not mean that the people of Georgia are not behind him. The meeting in Atlanta last week, when the most prominent men and women in the state went on record as upholding and heartily endorsing the governor's pamphlet shows that the best people in the state are standing behind him. It isn't the man who stirs up the trouble who is responsible for it, but the people who caused the trouble in the first place."

—Savannah Press

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Race Relations — 1921.

Individual Discussions

Governor Dorsey's Pamphlet on the Negro in Georgia (Comments on).

BENNETT ASSAILS DORSEY BOOKLET

Constitution 5/10/21

U. S. District Attorney for South Georgia Also Pays His Respects to Hooper Alexander.

Emphasizing the policy of his office in not giving publicity to alleged peonage cases under investigation, John W. Bennett, United States attorney for the southern district of Georgia, issued a statement Monday night assailing, by inference, Governor Hugh M. Dorsey and District Attorney Hooper Alexander, for making statements which he termed "unjust as they are unwarranted" to the state.

At the same time Mr. Bennett announced he had decided to issue warrants in a peonage case, which was developed too late to present to the federal grand jury, which was in session in Macon last week, in order that it may be thoroughly investigated. While no information was given, it is rumored that the case the official referred to is the investigation of the "Bony" Hogan farm, thirteen miles from Dublin.

Both Governor Hugh M. Dorsey and District Attorney Hooper Alexander, when informed of the Bennett statement, said they had no comment. The chief executive stated, however, that he was "perfectly satisfied" with the policy he has followed in the campaign against alleged peonage in Georgia.

Issues Statement in Macon.

The United States attorney for the southern district of Georgia issued his statement in Macon, where he held a conference relative to a peonage case with Billups Harris, division superintendent of the federal bureau of investigation, and Vincent Hughes, head of the Atlanta bureau.

"I came to Macon today to confer with my assistant, Clem Powers, and with Billups Harris, division superintendent of the bureau of investigation, Atlanta, and Vincent W. Hughes, special agent in charge of this bureau, with reference to an allaged peonage case which was not reported to this office in time to be presented to the grand jury which was in session at Macon last week," he said.

"After a most thorough investigation we reached the conclusion that the facts justify a prosecution. I therefore have directed that a warrant be sworn out in order that the case may be thoroughly investigated.

"With reference to the recent report of an alleged conflict between this office and the bureau of investigation, I know absolutely nothing that would authorize the statement. On the contrary, the relations between this office and the bureau of investigation have always been pleasant and cordial, and we have worked in perfect harmony," Mr. Bennett continued.

Investigated Reports.

"A number of reports of alleged peonage have come to this office during my incumbency. Wherever jurisdiction appeared to be in this district these reports have had prompt attention and investigation; where jurisdiction appeared to be in the Northern district, they have been referred to the proper authority. In only a very few cases handled by this office, including the Williams case and the case investigated today, have we found that the facts would authorize prosecution.

"We have not seen proper to advertise these various alleged cases in the newspapers of the state, but have cautiously avoided doing so. While we realize that there may exist some case of peonage in Georgia, other than these two cases, and while we realize that the facts in the Williams case appear to be most atrocious, we do not feel that the condition in Georgia is such that the state merited the unfortunate and unjust advertisement that it has recently received from some of our high officials, through the medium of the newspapers.

UPHOLD GOVERNOR IN PLEA OF EDITORIAL

Constitution 5/8/21

BY JAMES A. HOLLOMON.
Constitution Bureau
Raleigh Hotel.

Washington, May 17.—(By Constitution Leased Wire.)—For three days some of the yellow and red sheets of the east have been billposting their front pages with sensational special dispatches from Atlanta that Governor Dorsey of Georgia is threatened with impeachment, crediting severe denunciations of his attitude toward peonage violators and his criticism of instances of alleged miscarriage of justice, to two or three prominent Georgians.

The result is the state of Georgia is being far more adversely advertised today by these alleged statements interpreted to condone a condition, whether widespread or remote, that was proven by the testimony and verdict in the Williams case, than by any public utterances or writings of the governor, who had the manhood and the backbone "to call a spade a spade."

This is forcibly illustrated and brought to a bedrock base by a leading editorial in The Washington Star of this afternoon. It must be understood that The Star is known throughout the United States as one of the most ultra-conservative publications in America, tested out by nearly a hundred years of unbroken record for news reliability and for the force of right in its editorial alignments on every great moral issue that has been before the American people. It is an independent free lance that is inspired only by its jealous regard for public integrity and for the high ideals of ethics in journalism.

Represents Conservatives.

In reading this editorial, therefore, it is well to remember that no paper in America reflects more keenly the upstanding, conservative thought of America. Following is the editorial in question from The Evening Star of this date:

"GOVERNOR DORSEY AND PEONAGE.

"Instead of holding indignation meetings and threatening impeachment proceedings, the people of Georgia should fall in behind Governor Dorsey and assist him in ferreting out and punishing everybody in the state who is, or has been, guilty of violating the peonage law. If he has overstated the case, the fact can be established by an ordinary investigation; and probably the governor is prepared for a show down.

'There has never been a worse state of affairs exposed anywhere than that which existed on the 'murder farm' of the man Williams. And a Georgia jury found Williams guilty of the crimes alleged; and two of his sons, indicted for like offences, are fugitives from justice.

Even Went to Europe.

"The crimes were so black, and committed under such a cold-blooded and infamous calculations, the story was widely published, and, wherever published, injured Georgia. It even found European circulation. And along with it went the story that peonage was widely practiced in the state, and an intimation that other horrors would be uncovered.

"Naturally, Governor Dorsey took the matter up, and is proceeding with the view of exterminating the evil wherever in the state it exists.

"Georgia is one of the original states, and ranks high among her sister commonwealths, old and new. She has contributed to the national life some of the ablest of these men who have conducted national affairs. Her population, in very large measure, is American born and reared. She is rich and enterprising, and has much in the way of reputation to pro-

Nevin Defends Governor Dorsey From Attacks of Assailants

Constitution 5/18/21

In his address delivered at McDonough last Saturday Governor-elect T. W. Hardwick bitterly criticising Governor Dorsey for his recent pamphlet calling attention to lynching and peonage conditions in Georgia, stated that much of the trouble was exaggerated by a "sensational press" and that "while there may be things in Georgia that are wrong" the law was also being violated in Ohio, Massachusetts, and North Dakota.

James B. Nevil, editor of The Atlanta Georgian-American, which led the fight for Governor Hardwick in the last campaign, makes reply not only to him, but to other critics of the governor, in the issue of The Georgian of yesterday:—

Somehow, I do not see that any particularly convincing reply dwells within calling the governor of the state a "liar" and an "infamous slanderer" when he sets forth certain exhibits and allegations in respect of mistreatment of the negro in Georgia, lynchings, racial unrest and misunderstandings.

Nor do I think it answers him with crushing intelligence to say that, "while there may be things in Georgia that are wrong," there also are things in Ohio, Massachusetts and North Dakota that are wrong. After all of that is admitted, it can hardly follow, as a matter of logic, that somehow or other it is possible to make even one right by assembling two wrongs—or an indefinite number of wrongs.

It strikes me as infinitely cheap to accuse the governor of seeking "to curry favor" with certain northern people, with wishing "to pave his way to a federal job," or "a law practice in New York," when he sets forth, frankly, his convictions and conclusions as to certain things in Georgia coming very intimately under his official observation—merely because those utterances happen to be unpleasant.

I have heard these things said of Governor Dorsey—just as I have heard it said of Judge Searcy that he is aroused "because he thinks he's a candidate for congress," and that the governor-elect is aroused because "he really cares nothing whatever about being governor but is after Senator Harris' scalp and is now an active candidate to succeed him."

I think that sort of talk is all beside the question.

But that, nevertheless, is the great trouble about it; we rarely can discuss this negro problem, it seems, without immediately having our motives, our integrity of purpose and our inherent self-respect challenged—and usually with great vehemence and violence.

The very fact that one evokes passionate, bitter and violent reply to every suggestion of the kind he makes is sufficient proof that there is a problem there to discuss—and much unwillingness to discuss it fairly and calmly and in the light of reason and common sense, and squarely upon its merits.

It is quite beyond me to see wherein the "slander" to Georgia lies in the statement that there have been since 1885 in this state 415 negroes lynched—and only a few of them for the "usual crime." And not one trial and conviction of anybody for lynching.

If that is a fact, it can not be a "wicked slander" to state it. If it is a fact, we should be unafraid to face it.

God knows it needs facing.

These 415 lynchings include not only males, but females.

That's an average of one lynching a month for 35 years!

It's an average of about three lynchings per county, for the time cited!

Is it "slander and falsehood" to state things like that and to say they need remedying?

It may be mighty poor "practical" politics to say it; but maybe there are a few of us who are not concerned forever and eternally and to the exclusion of all things else with the "politics" of it.

We are not going to lower our average of one lynching per month for 35 years merely by protesting vehemently that there have been no lynchings—or that, if there have been lynchings, there have not been many lynchings; or that, if there have been many lynchings, they were "necessary" lynchings; or that, if there have been lynchings, there also have been lynchings in other states.

Sophistry will not get us anywhere worth while; pleas in avoidance are not worthy of us, however commendable confession might be.

The good Lord knows Hugh Dorsey is no fair-haired political child of mine. No man can shake his gory locks at me in respect of his being governor; it was not I who did it.

Not that that's important to anybody particularly—except me. In respect of the latter, it is important that I deal honestly and squarely with him in my own mental processes—as I have been given the light to see. I have in my keeping only one conscience that must be satisfied. But that one must be.

If I did not love Georgia so much, I would not care, perhaps, how many lynchings Georgia indulged in. Certainly, the line of least resistance in these matters has seemed to be either to ignore them, deny them, condone them—or "condemn" them and forget them. Otherwise, an average of one a month for 35 years could hardly have been sustained.

Governor Dorsey says that a record of 415 lynchings in 35 years without one conviction for lynching, is a disgraceful record. It is.

At least, I think it is—and if nobody else in Georgia but little me and the governor think so, I am afraid I still shall think so.

When the governor cites an exhibit of 135 cases of mistreatment of the negro in Georgia and says, "to the best of my knowledge and belief, these cases are authentic," surely the exhibit is not to be disposed of by mere bitter denunciations. There may be inaccuracies in the governor's statement; if so,

(over)

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

From over)

point them out. The governor is only human. But one swallow never yet made a summer and one or two inaccuracies never yet wholly discredited a document like that.

If 10 per cent of what the governor says is true—and quite more than 10 per cent is true, I think—the net residue of truth still would leave a situation challenging the manhood and clear thinking of Georgians.

Merely calling the governor a "liar and a slanderer" isn't answering him precisely.

PEONAGE BOOKLET WILL BE DISCUSSED AT MASS MEETING

Constitution 5-21-21

Many Atlantans have been invited to attend a mass meeting at the Atlanta theatre Saturday night at eight o'clock by the "Dixie Defense Committee" with Dr. Caleb A. Ridley, pastor of the Central Baptist church, as chairman of the Georgia division; and Attorney Carl Hutcheson, as secretary of the meeting.

A discussion of Governor Hugh M. Dorsey's booklet on peonage will be held it is stated. Dr. Ridley recently made a sensational attack on the chief executive. Thomas W. Hardwick and others have been asked to speak.

The communication follows:

"Fellow Georgian:

"A real crisis is here! The enemy, emboldened by the success of his sinister activities elsewhere, has invaded our statehouse.

"You and the ladies of your family are cordially invited to be present at a monster mass meeting at the Atlanta theater Saturday night, May 21, at 8 o'clock, at which time addresses will be delivered by Hon. Thomas W. Hardwick, Hon. Samuel L. Olive, Hon. Walter A. Sims, Hon. Robert B. Blackburn and other prominent Georgians.

"DIXIE DEFENSE COMMITTEE,
"Caleb A. Ridley, Chairman Georgia Division.
"Attest: Carl Hutcheson, Secretary."

CO-OPERATION PLEDGED TO GOVERNOR DORSEY

The Atlanta Constitution 5-22-21

Baptist and Presbyterian ministers, at their regular meetings Monday morning, adopted resolutions offering to co-operate with Governor Hugh Dorsey in his efforts to stamp out peonage, and to obtain better conditions in Georgia for the negroes.

A communication commending the governor for his recently-issued pamphlet on inter-racial conditions in Georgia, was adopted by the Atlanta Baptist Ministers' conference.

The letter was prepared and introduced by Rev. Charles W. Daniel, pastor of the First Baptist church.

In introducing the communication, Dr. Daniels took occasion to refer to the Dixie Defense league, declaring that "if the fair name of Georgia is in the hands of such men as Caleb Ridley, then God help Georgia."

The text of the letter, as adopted by the conference, and forwarded to the governor's office, follows:

Text of Letter.

The Atlanta Baptist Ministers' conference wish to express to you their appreciation of your timely appeal to the people of Georgia for a clear understanding and a quickened conscience in regard to our inter-racial conditions, to say nothing of the many individual cases of injustice.

The report of 415 lynchings of negroes besides others in our state, during the past thirty-five years, without a conviction of a single participant in all these law-defying mobs, is a dreadful stain upon our commonwealth.

We profoundly sympathize with the good citizens of every community where such outrages have occurred, and feel that the whole body politic suffers with them.

Indifference to such conditions, to say nothing of apology for the same, makes an individual, a community, a state, in a very real sense, partakers of the crime.

We are happy in the belief that the great majority of the people of Georgia are true to the ideals of constituted authority and social justice and will rally with courage and promptness against the sordid and sinister forces that would destroy them.

Publicity is the most effective weapon for the prevention and cure of such crimes. We believe that by your action you have rendered distinguished service in vindicating the fair name of the state of Georgia from the opprobrium which these lawless elements have thrust upon it.

As citizens and ministers, we wish to assure you of our hearty indorsement of what you have done, and to pledge our best efforts in the promotion of justice and good will among our people.

Presbyterians Act.

At the regular weekly meeting of the Presbyterian Ministers' association Monday morning, Dr. Plato T. Durham spoke upon conditions in the state as outlined in the pamphlet issued by Governor Dorsey. At the conclusion of his address Dr. B. R. Lacy, Jr., offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted.

Inasmuch as Governor Hugh M. Dorsey has brought to the attention of the people of Georgia certain injustices to members of the colored race, which have been brought to his attention as the chief executive of the state; and

Inasmuch as he has called upon the ministers to disseminate in their churches and Sunday schools the doctrines of mercy, justice and mutual forbearance between the races, we pledge ourselves anew to such a

ASSEMBLY TO GET PEONAGE CHARGES

Constitution

Dorsey to Submit Booklet to Legislature in Making Recommendations for Improving Conditions.

5-22-21

Governor Hugh M. Dorsey will submit his charges of mistreatment of the negro in Georgia to the general assembly this summer in recommending the establishment of a state constabulary, and in asking that additional power be given the chief executive in dealing with racial disturbances.

This anticipated move of the governor, following close on the announcement of several legislators that an official investigation of the allegations will be asked, came from an unofficial but well-founded source Monday night. In order for the chief executive to show cause why his recommendations should be enacted, it was pointed out, it will be necessary that the booklet, "The Negro in Georgia," and the evidence be submitted to the proper committees of the house and senate.

When Governor Dorsey was asked about the reported step, he made no comment other than to refer to his recommendation of the enactment of the following laws relating to improving racial relations in the state, and to say he did not care to discuss his plans at present.

Dorsey's Recommendations.

Establishing a state constabulary under proper safeguards of authorizing the governor, upon his own motion, to send members of such force into any county of the state to quell disorder or to protect the life and property of any citizen.

Imposing a financial penalty upon any county in which a lynching may occur.

Authorizing the governor of the state to appoint at any time any three judges of the superior court to act as a commission to investigate any lynching occurring in any county of the state, and empowering the governor to remove from office any public official found by such commission to have failed to enforce or uphold the law.

Giving the governor the discretion and power in any case of mob violence or lynching to authorize and direct any judge of the superior court to draw grand and petit juries from the state at large for the consideration and trial of such cases, and authorize the governor to designate the place at which the trial or trials shall be held.

Evidence Trustworthy.

In replies to attacks made on him for issuing the booklet, the chief executive has declared that his evidence supporting the cases came from letters from responsible persons and an authorized investigator. He informed his critics that this mass of material was open to anyone caring to investigate the veracity of the allegations.

Since he has refused to make public the names of the counties and individuals mentioned in the 135 cases, it is believed that when the governor submits his booklet and the evidence to the general assembly he will do so with the specific understanding that the matter will be referred to the proper committees for investigation in regard to the importance of passing legislation to include his recommendations.

During the past few days the executive department has received a large number of communications commending the governor for his action in publishing the booklet, and it is known that when the charges are threshed out in the general assembly he will have a strong following.

Olive Issues Reply To Charges Preferred By Rev. M. Ashby Jones

5-23-21
Atlanta Constitution

Samuel L. Olive, president of the state senate and one of the men who have attacked Governor Dorsey for his pamphlet on peonage conditions, has sent the following reply to The Constitution to charges preferred against him by Dr. M. Ashby Jones in the latter's "Text and Pretext" column in The Constitution of Sunday:

When Governor Dorsey courteously, but evasively, replied to my request for specific charges and witnesses against our state, I felt that I had done my duty, and my part in the matter was at an end. I have refused to speak at meetings called to consider action against the governor.

Under the heading, "Text and Pretext," Dr. M. Ashby Jones has attacked me in a vituperative manner in a part of his article. Five years ago this gentleman misused his pulpit by making a political speech there, in the midst of a campaign. He attacked the Georgia legislature for passing the Venzy bill, when that bill was the issue in an election. Since that time the doctor and I have had nothing in common. His article will be better understood in the light of this statement.

Ready to Defend State.

The doctor says that I am unfit to defend Georgia. That may be all too true, but I am none the less willing to try to answer any man who defames Georgia. The doctor says that I was "almost" guilty of "wilful misunderstanding" and "distortion of the truth" when I charged Governor Dorsey with attacking the state of Georgia. That part of the doctor's article was evidently written for children to read, since no sensible man or woman now seriously contends that Georgia is not under fire superinduced by the governor's attack.

The doctor and the governor seem to have dropped the original title of the crusade, which was "Governor Dorsey's Report on Peonage Conditions." When the proper United States attorney asked for the evidence there was none to give.

The doctor and the governor seem to have abandoned the charge that negroes are held in slavery in Georgia. There never was a word of truth in the charge. The doctor raves about people objecting to printing the "facts." Facts are what we have been trying to get all along. If the doctor and the governor have guilty parties, our courts will punish them; if they have made false charges our people will disprove them.

When no substantial fact has been forthcoming after repeated demands, the doctor falls back solely on the question of lynching.

Records of a generation or longer have been combed to get all possible material for the arraignment of Georgia. The doctor does not mention a single cause for a single lynching. They are presented as though no crime preceded them. Should a list of these crimes be written it would shock the world. Lynching is bad enough in any form; but to color the account with seeming lack of provocation of any kind is unfair.

Lack of Evidence.

At present the doctor and the governor are out of court for lack of evidence on all save the lynching charges. I do not believe the hidden letters are from people of good character in the main. I venture the assertion that ex-convicts and present criminals wrote many of these precious epistles, so carefully concealed. They concern all the people of Georgia, and should be given to all the people. Georgia needs no guardianship.

The doctor says that without investigation I jumped to the conclusion that Oglethorpe county was meant, when it was not meant. The doctor forgets, or will not see, that every county in Georgia is under charge till the governor states the guilty ones. I had to guess. That is the only privilege given to people who are anxious to have the truth. I do know a negro was burned in Oglethorpe county. He outraged the mother of a baby three weeks old in the presence of her other little one and then murdered the mother by splitting her skull with a hoe to destroy the evidence against him. The governor and the doctor somehow or other do not seem to relish this case as good material against Georgia. I dare write these words which the doctor says reveal me as unfit to defend Georgia, that: "I defy the governor to designate a community in America, nor a city, where summary justice would not be administered in a similar case." If that tribute to American manhood was a defense of lynching, I the doctor make the most of it.

Charge of Cruelty.

The charge that Georgia is cruel to negroes in general is a deliberate falsehood and a slander on the good name of the state. There are instances where negroes have been maltreated, just as white people have been maltreated in states where the population is largely white. Oppression is not a race question. It is as old as history.

The negro is treated and understood better right here in the south than anywhere else in the country. If this is not true why do so many negroes write from the north begging money to "come home?" I tender as evidence the thousands of homes, farms, schools and churches owned by negroes.

I tender as evidence the invariable rule that the farmer must care for his sick labor, even though he knows he is going to lose money by so doing.

I tender as evidence the fact that out of a million and a quarter negro population in Georgia the alleged maltreatments are few, even according to those wonderful letters.

Better Chance in South.

I tender as evidence that the intelligent negro has a better chance in the south than anywhere.

I tender as evidence the fear of the doctor and the governor of trying to prove their cases by the people who wrote the letters.

Henry Lincoln Johnson is alleged to have stated up north that negroes were lynched in Georgia for voting the republican ticket. I would not be surprised to learn that this falsehood had gained credence there by this time.

Civilization long ago condemned lettres de cache. Neither the doctor, nor any great power behind him can condemn Georgia by them. The secret letter is not now recognized as of probative value anywhere.

The legislature will convene soon. It is the representative body of this state. Its members were selected by all the people. It will represent Georgia. The attack of Doctor Jones will do no harm with the overwhelming mass of our people, but it may hurt where he is not so well known. I do not care what were his motives for rehashing the recently thrice-told tale of lynchings. That is all left from the furor originating in one horrible and abnormal case. I do not mind his personal attack on me. I only want the people to know that he attacked first, this time not from the pulpit. Respectfully,

SAM L. OLIVE.

SERIOUS CHARGE IS MADE AGAINST STATE OF GEORGIA

Montgomery Advertiser 5-24-21

(Associated Press.)

ATLANTA, GA., May 26.—"The laws of Georgia are violated and defied in the cruel treatment of negroes with a fequency that warrants inquiry and demands correction", Hooper Alexander, federal district attorney declared here tonight in a formal statement on the recenty pamphlet, "The Negro in Georgia" issued by Governor Dorsey.

"Negroes have been killed on the public highways and their bodies left exposed to the public gaze and though their slayers are known, no action has been taken to hale them before a jury" was another charge made in the district attorney's statement. He added that out of the 135 specific charges of mistreatment made by Governor Dorsey only one or two have been denied, and continued:

"There is at least enough in it to make men consider what has been done and consider it calmly. If these things are true they ought to be corrected. It concerns the honor of all of us to correct them."

Mr. Alexander said the governor had made his charges to a committee of Georgians and delcared "so large a measure of sovereign power is under our state constitution delegated directly to the counties and their officers as to make a difficult if not impossible for the governor to take effective action for protection of the victims or enforcement of the law, and both verbally and in his pamphlet he indicated his twish that the citizens would consider this situation and advise him what to do".

Mr. Alexander said information of mistreatment cases not mentioned had come to him officially and that he is prepared to furnish witnesses to testify in such cases.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Race Relations – 1921.

Individual Discussions.

(1)

Governor Dorsey's Pamphlet on the Negro in Georgia Comments on

Governor Replies to Letters Of Judges Searcy and Shurley

Constitution 4-3-21

Editor Constitution: I hand you herewith my replies to two letters, one from Judge Searcy, of Upson superior court, the other from Judge Shurley, of Toombs circuit, addressed to me as governor, which recently appeared in the public press.

These letters deal with matters of vital importance to the people of Georgia.

For this reason, I am handing you copies of my replies with the request that they be given publicity.

Ninety-five per cent of the people of Georgia are law-abiding. They believe in a policy of justice and mercy to the negro and to all others. In this 95 per cent, I include the gentlemen to whom these letters are addressed. The difficulty is that the 95 per cent do not always know what is happening throughout the state, and what is being said with reference to the state outside of its borders.

My only hope for the final solution of the race problem in Georgia and throughout the country is to familiarize this overwhelming majority, who desire the enforcement of our laws, with the facts.

For this reason, I ask the undivided help of the press in giving the facts to our people and in appealing to them to inaugurate and carry through a policy of justice, mercy and mutual forbearance, which will do more than all else in redeeming the good name of Georgia, retaining the labor so necessary to the development of our state, and in saving our people from the danger of mob law and anarchy.

HUGH M. DORSEY,
Governor.

GOVERNOR DORSEY TO JUDGE AND SOLICITOR TOOMBS CIRCUIT

State of Georgia, Executive Department, Atlanta, May 11, 1921.

Hon. E. T. Shurley, Judge Superior Courts, Toombs Circuit, Warrenton, Ga.

Hon. M. L. Felts, Solicitor-General, Toombs Circuit, Warrenton, Ga.

Gentlemen: Replying to your letter of May 2, in which you express resentment at my letter calling your attention to the alleged mobbing of Oscar Edwards, I call your attention to the fact that mention of this case had appeared in the press prior to the publication of my letter. In my opinion, in view of the facts, I should have been derelict in my duty as governor if I had failed to direct your attention specifically to this case as it was reported to me.

One reason for this statement is that in 1918 Spencer Evans, a negro in Taliaferro county, appealed for executive clemency. The Atlanta Journal for Monday, March 25, 1918, says:

"The negro was sentenced to be hanged last Friday on a charge of criminal assault. Governor Dorsey granted him a respite until Friday, April 26. The lynching took place a few hours after news of the respite reached Crawfordville."

The negro who was lynched had already been condemned to die. The respite of thirty days was granted only in order to give me as governor the time to get the facts of the case, which were wholly unknown to me. If any action has been taken to punish the members of the mob, it has not come to my attention. W. J. Sturdivant, to whom you refer, I believe, was sheriff at the time.

You say that the cause of the beating of Oscar Edwards was the use by the negro of an oath, "one which no southern white man accepts." I am sure that you will agree with me that the true spirit of the Anglo-Saxon, to which you refer with pride in which I share, calls for the resentment of such an insult at the time when given, and never justifies waiting for the cover of the night to go in a mob, however small, to beat the giver of the insult.

Accepting as wholly true the "reason advanced for this whipping of this negro," I am sure that you as sworn officers of the law will agree with me that the law has been violated by these men. As intelligent men, you will further agree with me that the manner of the violation is typical of the cause underlying the 415 cases of lynching which have disgraced our state. Under the circumstances, I feel sure that the court in which you gentlemen serve will see that the honor of the law is vindicated in Taliaferro county by the punishment of the members of this miniature mob, if the facts are as reported by you.

The letter to which you refer was not anonymous, but I must respect the request of the writer to withhold his name, because of his fear of bodily harm to him. No charges of peonage in Taliaferro county have been made by me to the press or elsewhere.

My letter to you was written not in a spirit of fault-finding or dictation, but in the desire to invoke the aid of you gentlemen, as public officials, in an effort to put a stop to customs and conditions which have brought and which are bringing disgrace upon our state. I am confident that you will join me in this effort. Respectfully,

HUGH M. DORSEY, Governor.

LETTER TO JUDGE SEARCY OF THE FLINT CIRCUIT

State of Georgia, Executive Department, Atlanta, May 11, 1921.

Hon. William E. H. Searcy, Jr., Judge Superior Courts, Flint Circuit, Griffin, Ga.

Dear Sir: As it was my desire to handle the cases called to my attention and cited by me in my statement with reference to the negro in Georgia without directing attention to the particular town and county in which the cases were alleged to have occurred, I refrained from giving any names. I regret that your letter brings publicity to The Rock, Upson county and your court. I had hoped, and I still hope, that men in your position would recognize what is known to us all, regardless of the matter cited by me, that the negro has been subjected to mistreatment in Georgia and that the time has come to inaugurate a new policy, if we are to retain our own self-respect and maintain our position as a civilized people before the world.

Since 1885 there have been 415 negroes lynched in Georgia. Reports to me with reference to the case of Ed White, the negro referred to by you, convinced me at the time that he would be lynched if allowed to remain in jail in Upson county. For this reason I requested you, as stated by you, to order him removed to Bibb county for safe-keeping. This was done, saving the life of the man, I believe.

I caused an investigator—a white citizen of Georgia in whom I have every confidence—to go to Upson county to investigate the facts surrounding the case. The facts embodied in my statement are based upon his report in writing to me as governor of Georgia. This report is now before me. The name of the man who kicked the negro girl in the stomach; the names of seven leading citizens who testify as to the good character and reputation of the negro and who unite in expressing the opinion that the case against him was one of persecution; the names of four leading citizens in your circuit who stated that a committee had waited upon you and that you informed them that White would be put in the chaingang—the names and statements of these citizens are embodied in the report.

The report in part states:

"I attach hereto a letter from Mr. ..... leading merchant of ..... to the effect that to his own knowledge White's reputation was good, and that he had credit at his place from $800 to $1,500 per year. Mr. ..... further stated that the treatment of White and his family was perfectly outrageous and a disgrace to Georgia. That the whole matter came about through jealousy of White's success. That White was innocent, was foully treated and ought to be pardoned outright."

"Mr. ....., leading merchant of ....., stated that he had known White for many years. That White had good credit at his place. That White had never gotten arrested before in his life that he had ever heard of."

"I attach a letter written by ....., the leading ..... company of ..... This letter states White's credit was good, also that his reputation for peaceableness is good, and his general reputation is good. These people state that White was not prosecuted, but persecuted—and that he ought to be pardoned."

"I called to see Mr. ..... leading merchant of ....., and one of the biggest farm owners in that section of the state. He stated that he knew your excellency personally. He said to tell your excellency that if the negro was sent to the chaingang or fined one cent that the courthouses of Georgia ought to be torn down."

"I called to see every merchant in ....., and without exception every one of them stated that White and his family had a good reputation, and had good credit; and they had never heard of them getting in trouble before. Several merchants told me that they could not afford to write letters, as it would hurt their business, and one told me that White was being persecuted, but he could not afford to get in a controversy between a negro and white people."

The report gives a detailed account of the shooting up of the negro's home, when only his wife and small children were in it.

In the report the investigator says:

"I regret that some of the good people who talked to me would not write letters to your excellency. This was due to one of three things: Timidity, not desiring to take a negro's part against white people, or fear of ruining their business. The best people told me to tell you that if White or any of his family ever put their feet in Upson county again and it was known to the people of The Rock, that they would be lynched.

"I was told by several good people that the trial of White was a fake and a travesty of justice. That a certain class of people in Upson county had it in for any negro that was the least prosperous and White especially; that they were determined to put him in the chaingang; that if it took ten witnesses to convict him they would get him; if it took 100 they would put up 100, and if it took 1,000, they would put up 1,000."

The report covers twelve typewritten pages. I quote only enough of it to show to you the type of matter that was before me when I included this case in the number cited by me in my statement. You will, I believe, agree with me that these facts justify the use which I made of the information.

You state that wou did not make the remark to the Committee which waited upon you, as was reported to the investigator by four of your fellow citizens.

I accept your statement as correct, but even when I do this, with the facts reported to me, I cannot modify my conclusion as to the case.

It was not my purpose, and it is not now my intention to go into a trial of each of the 135 cases cited by me. For this reason, I purposely refrained from the publication of names, and it is now with the greatest reluctance that I publish the facts reported to me as to Upson county, being forced to take this step by your letter. It is not my desire to injure the reputation of any county, town or official, but I do wish to awake the people of Georgia to what I regard as a peril overshadowing all others threatening our state. This peril, I believe to be due to a failure upon the part of the majority of our people to appreciate what is taking place and the staggering sum total of charges made against us as a people in connection with our treatment of the negro.

I appeal again to men of your position and to the press of the state to unite in this effort, and to refrain from trying to side-track the question in a controversy over this or any other single case. I am confident that you and ninety-five per cent of the people of your circuit and of the state desire to do only what is best for the state and for our people both black and white.

Will you not join me in seeking for a remedy for conditions which are causing the state to lose laborers whom we need, giving us an unspeakable reputation before the world, and planting the seed of lawlessness among our people that will prove disastrous to our children if not stopped?

Respectfully yours,
HUGH M. DORSEY.
Governor.

(From The Atlanta Georgian.

Atlanta Independent 5/28/21

In a statement "To the People of Georgia," Governor Dorsey replied Wednesday to published statements by Samuel L. Olive, president of the Georgia Senate, and Judge W. E. H. Searcy, of the Flint Circuit of the Superior Court, which had attacked his campaign of publicity for instances of alleged oppression of Negroes in Georgia.

"In every case mentioned by me," said the governor, "I have signed letters or reports to sustain the charges made. This evidence is open .. .. .. as the first step in an effort to put a stop to evils which even those who question the wisdom of the publication of the facts admit exist in a greater or less degree.

"I place the facts before you, the people of Georgia, to whom alone I owe an account, with the supreme confidence that you will sustain me in my appeal to those who love justice, mercy and the name of Georgia."

The governors statement in full follows:

To the People of Georgia:

Hon. Samuel L. Olive, president of the Senate, is correct in saying: "The governor states that the Negro has been lynched and cites five cases."

Nothing could better illustrate the moderation of the statement made by me with reference to the treatment of the negro in Georgia. While I mentioned only five cases, since 1885 mobs in Georgia have shot, hanged, burned or drowned 415 Negroes, some of them women. Since those figures were compiled, in the last 60 days a mob has taken a helpless old negro woman from her home and drowned her by night.

The senator is mistaken in saying that the case No. 5, the burning of a negro by slow fire while a mob of 3,000 looked on, occurred in Oglethorpe County. That was another Negro burned, not mentioned by me, but called to the attention of the public by the senator.

In neither of these cases, men burning human beings, nor in any one of the 413 other cases, has a member of the lynching mob been punished in Georgia.

Judge Adams Speaks.

Hon. Samuel B. Adams, of Savanah, a former member of our Supreme Court, in speaking before the Georgia Bar Association in 1918, said:

"Lawlessness is the crime of crimes, the evil of evils. Lawlessness, in its full fruition, is anarchy, and anarchy is the culmination of all woes, the last possibility of the powers of darkness.

"There is one form of lawlessness in which Georgia has a 'bad eminence.' I refer to lynching: We may get along in some fashion,

(over)

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From Over

notwithstanding the frequent infractions of the penal law, but as long as lynching is common, and is condoned by the public conscience and the public sentiment, we are dangerously near anarchy. Lynching is inherently vicious. I strikes at the foundations of law government and society; it 'puts the law to ope nshame. it is defiant of all law and all authority. Lynchers commit a greater crime than their victim, no matter how great his offense.

"The published statistics, accepted generally as reliable, show that last year there were 69 lynchings in the United States. Of these lynchings, 55 were negroes and 14 were white people. This is 6 more Negroes and 11 more whites than were put to death by mobs in 1914. Included in the record are three women.

"In not less than four cases, it was demonstrated after the lynching that the persons put to death were innocent of the offenses charged. Eighteen of the lynchings of 1915, or more than one-fourth of the total number, occurred in the state of Georgia. The bulk of those unlawfully put to death were Negroes—I believe all except one. Only 15 per cent of the total number lynched in the United States were charged with the unspeakable crime. A number of the cases involved only charges of misdemeanor, or offenses which at most would be trifling.

Suppressing Facts Mistake.

"All good citizens deplore our disgraceful record.

"The question as to what is the remedy is not easily answered. It certainly does not lie in the denial, or suppression, or ignoring of the facts.

"In insisting that it is the part not only of honesty but of wisdom, to look the facts squarely in the face, impress all people with their extreme gravity and the great evil to the state, not only to its higher interests, but also to its material and business interests, and a persistent, uncompromising effort to stop the evil.

Cause for Humiliation.

"It does no good for the newspapers to say that we are no worse than the people of other sections. This statement is not correct, so far as the form of lawlessness is concerned, because our record is exceptionally bad, and a Georgian has special reason to feel humiliated."

Judiciary Not Attacked.

Senator Olive says:

"The governor can not and will not name one judge in Georgia who is not faithful to his trust."

Fortunately, a copy of my statement has been mailed to every judge in Georgia. Therefore, the judges of the state are aware that Senator Olive has no cause for making such a suggestion. But in order that the public may understand how baseless that suggestion is, I direct attention to the fact that Judge Andrew J. Cobb, another former member of the Supreme Court, was one of the 39 gentlemen to whom I submitted my statement, and Judge Cobb is one of the 39 who signed the resolutions indorsing the statement and who give it to the public.

Judge Commends Statement.

How other judegs regard it is shown by the letter from a judge of the Superior Court, who says:

"I have received the pamphlet 'As to the Negro in Georgia,' and desire to thank you most earnestly, not only for sending me a copy, but for the compiling of the bulletin. It is very likely that you have stuck the bow of the ship of state into a wasp's nest, and that there will be more or less buzzing of enraged insects for some time to come, but in the long run much good will have been accomplished.

Our Southern People.

"I love our Southern people. many of their faults, and I have most of them, appeal to me. Generally speaking, they have a strong religious instinct and inclination to the high things of life—are generous, but proud and 'high-strung.' They bitterly resent criticism of any kind or intimation of failure in the performance of duty on their part. They will, however, after the passing of the storm of bitter denials and resentment, proceed to look the situation over for the purpose of ascertaining just how much truth there is in the charges.

"In this case they will find much, and they will in the course of time in great measure rectify the wrongs pointed out or complained of. Every Southern man who will face facts knows that the negro is not treated with that justice which should characterize our dealings with this race of people who are in a great measure, the wards of the Caucasian. Some localities have conditions much worse than others, but none are entirely free from the taint of wrong-doing.

"It is possible that your investigators have made mistakes. Most certainly they have if you were forced, as doubtless you were, to use just plain human investigators, but I know, and everyone else knows, that the bulk of your information is true, and that bitter denials, though in a few cases justified, will not serve to impugn your motives or impair the value of the document as a whole.

Creeping Lawlessness.

"Several insidious and deadly human diseases are referred to as 'creeping.' So this disease of lawlessness, so far as treatment of the Negro in the South is concerned, is a 'creeping' social disease. It starts with insignificant and seemingly unimportant symptoms. The denial of justice in a few small things, and the commission of wrongs against them which do not amount to much within themselves but the last stage of the creeping malady may bring the sufferer to the Jasper County farm and in proximity to the chained bodies of Yellow River. I am not sufficiently informed to place the blame on any particular officer or individual.

"Far be it from me to state that any judge or other officer of this state has connived or winked at or actually engaged in the commission of any overt act of injustice to any Negro. What I do mean to say is that few, if any of us, have by word and act done our full duty as officers and law-abiding citizens at all times and under all circumstances. We may be accessories before the fact to acts of injustice and wrongs, through indifference or omissions. If I am not mistaken a large dose of the sunshine and fresh air of publicity, such as you are prescribing, will do much to restrict the spread of, if it does not entirely eradicate, the malady."

When they have thought the matter through, 95 per cent of the people of Georg wiaill, I believe, concur in the judge's conclusions, because 95 per cent of the people of our state are law-abiding and humane. The same thought caused me to lay these 135 cases before the group of thoughtful people whom I asked to come from different parts of the state to advise with me.

A Futile Effort.

The futility of trying to make it appear that the statement is an exaggeration is apparent from the fact that only five cases of lynching are included in the 135 cases mentioned when 415 negroes have been lynched in Georgia since 1885, and no lyncher has yet been punished.

Eliminate one, a dozen or more of the cases mentioned by me and the sum total remaining appals, when it is recalled that these cases have not been collected by agents or busybodies, but have come to me wholly unsolicited from people who have believed that I, as governor, could give relief.

Farm Labor.

Senator Olive charges that my reference to peonage is endangering labor conditions and adding to the difficulties of our already overburdened farmers.

Next to my desire to purge Georgia of this insufferable blot and to protect a helpless people who are asking only for justice and mercy, the chief incentive causing me to place these facts before the people of Georgia was the number of farms in our state from which Negroes have been driven by terror, leaving the farmers helpless to plant or handle their crops.

While I mentioned only 20 cases of possible peonage, I cited 110 cases of organized lawlessness and specific acts of cruelty not only calculated to run Negroes away, but in cases actually causing them to flee in terror for their lives, leaving their landlords or employers without labor. I cited two counties in which not a single Negro remains.

As stated by Senator Olive, 80 per cent of the population of Georgia live in rural communities, and the basis of the wealth of our state is agriculture. If the farmer can not get and keep labor, there can be no progress for our state. Experience has demonstrated that if the small percentage of lawless people in Georgia are permitted to run the Negro away by senseless cruelty, they will do so. The time has come for the law-abiding among us, who constitute the overwhelming majority, to put a stop to their practices.

Spreading Evil.

The letter quoted above calls attention to the creeping nature of this lawlessness. Two of the cases cited by me show that already it has spread from threatening the Negro on the farm. One was an instance of interference with railroad construction because Negroes were there.

Such conditions can not continue. And I can not but believe that upon reflection, men such as Senator Olive and my successor in office, Governor-elect Hardwick, will see the wisdom of dealing with this situation in a way to remedy conditions along the lines suggested by me.

Judge Searcy.

An attack such as that made by Judge W. E. H. Searcy serves only to illustrate the difficulties of the problem. That attack vividly shows one of the causes for the contempt for law and order upon the part of the few in Georgia. Such language on the part of a judge of the Superior Court directed toward a governor of Georgia can only encourage that class and cause regret to those who believe in judicial calm and dignity upon the bench.

Such actions upon the part of the judge only strengthens my original conclusions with reference to the unfortunate instance described as cases 121 to 123, county No. 21, and confirm the wisdom of my course in withholding the names of the citizens who gave the facts, as they believed them, to the investigator who reported to me.

The publicity which has come to that county and to Judge Searcy's court was caused by himself and not by me. It is regretted, not because of the judge, but because, as I said in my original statement, "I have withheld the names of counties and the whole state, who constitute the majority of our people will condemn such conditions and take the steps necessary to correct them, when they see and realize the staggering sum total of such cases, which, while seemingly confined to a small minority of our counties, yet bring disgrace and obloquy upon the state as a whole and upon the entire Southern people."

The Negro Year Book

(See Next Card)

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

(2)

From foregoing Card
("From The Atlanta Georgian"
Atlanta Independent 5/19/21

Evidence to Sustain.

In every case mentioned by me, I have signed letters or reports to sustain the charges made. This evidence is at all times open to the gentlemen in whose hands I placed my statement and who gave that statement, not to the outside world, but to the newspapers of Georgia, the clergy of the state, the members of the general assembly, the sheriffs and judges of the state, as the first step in an effort to put a stop to evils, which even those who question the wisdom of the publication of the facts, admit exist in a greater or less degree.

The wisdom of their action in so handling the statement has been demonstrated by the fact that the press outside of Georgia and those who are only too fond of trying to attack us where the problem of the Negro is concerned, have united in praise of the determination of Georgia to make an end of conditions which all deplore. Georgia has been cited as an example to the rest of the South and the world in dealing with this problem in a constructive manner.

Surely, it shall not be said either for political reasons or for other causes, that any but a pitiable minority in Georgia resent the idea of giving justice and mercy to a race which is wholly at our mercy.

As I have before stated, I shall not be drawn into a controversy over any individual case, but I place the facts before you, the people of Georgia, to whom alone I owe an account of my actions, and I do this with the supreme confidence that you, like those of your fellow citizens with whom I conferred before acting, will sustain me in my appeal to those who love justice, mercy and the name of Georgia, and who constitute 95 per cent of the population of the state

Governor Dorsey's Pamphlet on the Negro in Georgia Causes Much Discussion & Comment Throughout the Country - 1921.

DORSEY CRITICIZED AT THEATER MEET

ATLANTA GA JOURNAL
MAY 22, 1921

Impassioned speeches attacking Governor Dorsey for the issuance of his peonage pamphlet, denouncing the Georgia inter-racial relations committee and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and challenging the accuracy and fairness of the statements that have gone abroad concerning the mistreatment of negroes in this state, marked the mass meeting called by the Dixie Defense Committed at the Atlanta theater Saturday night.

Approximately 1,200 people, including many women, were present. The addresses were delivered by B. M. Blackburn, Dr. Caleb A. Ridley, pastor of the Central Baptist church; Carl N. Hutcheson, secretary of the defense committee and a member of the board of education; Robert B. Blackburn, and Ernest C. Buchanan.

B. M. Blackburn, presiding as chairman, opened the meeting with the statement that it was called to enter protest against the concerted effort under way, led by high officials of the state, to place the name of Georgia in scorn before the world. He denied the allegations in "pamphlets that have been issued about peonage and the treatment of negroes," called the national colored people's association a diabolical institution that is being aided and abetted by the inter-racial relations committee and a number of misguided philanthropists, and declared the Dixie Defense committee has pledged itself to forever uphold white supremacy in the south.
MORE

"Outside Interference"

He attacked what he termed outside interference with the enforcement of law in Georgia.

"We want the people of New York, and we want the people everywhere else, to know that Georgia is a white man's state, and that no man can reflect on our citizenship and get away with it without censure," he declared.

"I don't care a rap of my finger for a man who will slander the people of his own state—and that's what has been done," he declared, amid applause.

"The good people of Georgia condemn crime, but they also condemn a man who slanders his own people by publishing reports from men whose names he will not reveal."

Mr. Blackburn declared that "as long as the negro stays in his place he will have the utmost protection that a chivalrous people can give to an inferior race, but when he seeks to establish a status of social equality in Georgia, he is in the wrong state."

The speaker declared he cared nothing about threats of congressional interference. He said the plain people of Georgia would handle any situation that might arise.

Mr. Blackburn said Governor-elect Thomas W. Hardwick, who had been slated to address the meeting, was forced to leave the city on Friday. He read a letter from Mr. Hardwick in which he deplored "the great wrong done the state by the filing of a general and indiscriminate indictment against it."

Mr. Hardwick's Letter

"In my opinion," read the governor-elect's letter, "the relations between the races are far better in this state than in most of the states from which the most bitter and ignorant criticism of Georgia emanates. Negroes who behave themselves and obey the law have no trouble in Georgia. This is an ideal state for a good negro, but it doubtless is true that it is not a healthy place for the negro agitator or for those who either practice or preach social or political equality.

"I question the fairness and challenge the accuracy of the so-called statistics on lynching which point to the alleged fact that since 18[illegible], there have been 415 lynchings in Georgia. Away with such stuff and nonsense! Let the law be upheld and enforced, rigidly and impartially for the protection of white and black alike, but surely we ought to have some law, moral or otherwise, for the appropriate punishment of Georgians, however misguided, who on the faith of witnesses that they cannot or will not name, dare to defame the people of Georgia and to besmirch the good name of the state throughout the republic."

An outburst of applause followed the reading of the governor-elect's letter.

"Now about those so-called lynching statistics" went on Mr. Blackburn, "I would be ashamed to use them—they came from Tuskegee institute, and are not authentic, and certainly do not give the state of Georgia a fair showing."

Dr. Ridley Speaks

When Dr. Caleb Ridley was introduced the audience greeted him with a prolonged outburst of cheering.

"Well, folks, I may look out of place up here with all these politicians, but I don't feel out of place," he began.

"I waited in vain for months for some one else to speak out on the subject we are now here to grapple with, and I finally decided to do it myself, no matter who didn't like it.

"I have made a close study of the problems before us. I read for a long time after one of my brothers in the cause—"

A voice shouted, "Yes, Dr. Jones," and Dr. Ridley smiled.

"At first," he went on, "I didn't get the idea of all the propaganda the great racial committee was dispensing, but I understood when I learned that it has behind it some of these, in fact, most all of these Atlanta philanthropists. You know it's easy for a preacher to be influenced by very wealthy laymen." There was more applause.

Charging that John J. Eagan, Marion Jackson, Archibald Blackshear, of Augusta, and others are being used as tools of outside interests to slander the people of Georgia, the speaker declared it provoked him to the point where "I'd cuss if I didn't belong to the church."

Governor Criticised

Dr. Ridley assailed Governor Dorsey's pamphlet as the "vilest slander ever perpetrated upon the people of a great commonwealth."

He said two negroes "who had sense enough not to sign their names" had threatened his life in the last week in letters to him.

"By some hook or crook, I am chairman of this Dixie Defense committee, and we are located in the Healey building. The opposition is in the Candler building, but we are keeping right up with 'em and we're going to see this thing through.

"The newspapers—and two of them are against us—were very much afraid of this meeting. They made it appear that this meeting was called to denounce Governor Dorsey. He doesn't need anybody to denounce him—he had butted his fool brains out already. He don't need me to cuss him. I haven't much sense, but I have too much to jump on a corpse."

The speaker was frequently interrupted by loud applause.

He vigorously attacked the federal peonage laws, and at his mention of the "days when men rode at night in white robes" the theater shook with applause for more than five minutes.

"We are here to defend the honor of Dixie to the point of our red blood—and we know where to get the money to carry on with," he concluded.

"Church and State"

Robert B. Blackburn spoke briefly against the merging of church and state. Then he declared himself in favor of restrictions in the education of negroes. He urged that they be given only a grammar school education. He declared "these misguided philanthropists are doing the state of Georgia great injury."

"The inter-racial relations committee is seeking to legislate for us and censor everything that affects our state—but they can't get away with it," he asserted.

Carl N. Hutcheson charged that the state has been basely slandered, and declared the Dixie Defense committee, already 10,000 strong in the city of Atlanta, would maintain the honor of the state of Georgia and the entire south.

"A small coterie of fifty men who do not mingle with the masses are trying to conduct our affairs for us," he asserted. "They are so-called highbrows and their little committee is aiding in the work of the national negro association in this part of the country. Shame on any white man who will become a member of such a committee."

Mr. Hutcheson read telegrams from many sheriffs and county officials in Georgia, denying that peonage and mistreatment of negroes is rampant and assailing the governor's recent pamphlet.

He declared the negro has no right to have any more education than that required for his ordinary needs. He charged that negroes are organizing all over the south, and said the inter-racial relations committee was largely to blame.

Ernest C. Buchanan declared Atlanta and Georgia are receiving "entirely too much bad advertising."

"Between the bunco probe, the Williams case and the governor's wholesale indictment, we are getting our share and more," he said. He denounced the peonage reports as "grossly exaggerated."

A resolution denouncing "as false and slanderous any attack on the state of Georgia that is based on the lynching statistics of Tuskegee institute," and condemning as unworthy any southern white man "who will condemn this alleged lynching record taken from a negro publicist without also denouncing the brutal crimes that excite our people to uncontrollable passion," was unanimously passed.

DORSEY PEONAGE PAMPHLET SCORED

5-22-21

Committee on Inter-racial Relations Severely Criticized at Mass Meeting Saturday.

Constitution

Approximately 1,000 persons, with a number of women scattered through the audience, attended the mass meeting called by the Dixie Defense committee at the Atlanta theater Saturday night, and following a series of addresses, during which Governor Hugh M. Dorsey and the committee on inter-racial relations were severely criticised, resolutions replying to the chief executive's booklet, "The Negro in Georgia," were adopted.

Governor-elect Thomas W. Hardwick, Samuel Olive, president of the Georgia senate, and Walter Sims, member of the city council, who were previously announced as speakers of the evening, did not attend the meeting. The first and last named were called from the city on account of business, and the president of the senate did not leave his home in Augusta for the meeting.

The governor-elect, however, sent a letter to B. M. Blackburn, chairman of the occasion, and the latter read it at the conclusion of his address. Mr. Blackburn made the first speech of the evening, attacking the policy of Governor Dorsey and the racial committee for publishing the pamphlet and denouncing the criticism "hurled at the south by the northern press and some of our own people."

Dr. Ridley Introduced.

Dr. Caleb Ridley, pastor of Central Baptist church, was introduced by the chairman, and his address was the most fiery of the evening, being bitter in his denunciation of the governor.

Dr. Ridley started out by saying that he had waited for somebody smarter than he to call a halt to the campaign of slander being heaped on Georgia, and growing impatient of waiting, declared "I'll be confound if I don't do it myself."

When he began to study the source he said it carried him back to the frock-coated divines and philanthropists of Atlanta, and when he saw that John Eagan and Marion Jackson were leaders in the movement he knew what they were driving at.

He declared that it is easy for preachers to be influenced by very wealthy laymen, and said that one philanthropist had pretty nearly torn up the city twice already with his "tomfoolery."

The committee on inter-racial relations he styled as an "amalgamated mongrel association," asserting that it has heaped on Georgia "one of the vilest slanders ever perpetrated on the people of a commonwealth."

"The newspapers were afraid of this meeting," continued Dr. Ridley. "They made it appear that the meeting was to attack Dorsey. Governor Dorsey doesn't need anybody to jump on him," he shouted, "he's butted his fool brains out already."

Paid Larger Interest.

Dr. Ridley charged that conditions in Georgia caused her governor to have to pay more interest in the New York money market on funds borrowed for the state than other southern states.

He stated that R. N. Berrien, who was instrumental in negotiating for the money, declared that North Carolina went into the same market, applied to the same banks when he was endeavoring to obtain finances for Georgia, and borrowed money at 6 per cent, when the state of Georgia was compelled to pay 7 1-2 per cent.

The questions fired at him by the financiers had to do with the reported negro conditions and the bunco situation, Dr. Ridley said Mr. Berrien told him—the bankers wanted to know what is the matter with Georgia laws.

(over)

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH PEL 14

(From Over)

R. B. Blackburn followed Dr. Ridley and delivered an address along the same lines. Carl Hutcheson, secretary of the new association, was then introduced.

Reads Telegrams.

He read a number of telegrams from different sections of the state, stating there was harmony in the relations between the two races, while some of the messages criticized the Dorsey booklet.

During Mr. Hutcheson's speech approximately three hundred people left the building and toward the end, he requested them to remain seated until he had finished and the resolutions had been introduced.

Ernest Buchanan spoke for several minutes following the adoption of the resolutions. All of the speakers were applauded. On the platform were Ernest Buchanan, Marvin P. Roane, "Bill" Johnson, Ernest Bentley, Councilman Wood, who was the author of the resolutions; Carl Hutcheson and others.

A booklet captioned "A Reply to Governor Dorsey's Pamphlet," written by Dr. Ridley, was distributed at the meeting. It was stated that over 10,000 copies had been published and passed out for distribution.

Letter From Hardwick.

The following is Governor-elect Hardwick's letter, and the resolutions adopted by the assembly:

My dear Mr. Blackburn: Understanding that you are to act as chairman of the mass meeting tomorrow night, I am taking the liberty of addressing this letter to you. I had hoped and expected to address the meeting in person, but important business has called me east, and I find that I cannot possibly be in the city.

In my opinion no greater wrong can be done to the state of Georgia and to her people than for any citizen of the state, public official or not, to file against her and them a general and indiscriminate indictment, alleging that peonage is general throughout the state and that the negro is systematically and generally mistreated in Georgia. Of course among three million people there will always be some criminals, and crime will be directed against all elements of the population. I very much doubt if the negroes have suffered, in this respect in the proportion that their population bears to the total population of the state, and I am sure that except in very rare cases harmless and inoffensive negroes, who do not violate the law, and who properly conduct themselves, have had no trouble.

Indeed, in my opinion, the relations between the races are far better in this state than in most of the states from which the most bitter and ignorant criticism of Georgia emanates. Negroes who behave themselves and obey the law have no trouble in Georgia. According to the records of the state they have accumulated property that is returned for taxation in 1919 for $54,858,301. During that same year they returned automobiles valued at $1,860,261; household and kitchen furniture, $5,344,688; mules, horses and cattle, $12,443,682; in 1920 their property returns increased from $54,858,301 to $68,628,514.

261,958 in Schools.

In 1919, 261,958 negroes of public school age attend our public schools, taught by 4,378 negro teachers, paid out of the public funds of the state.

In short, without citing additional facts of this character, so as to avoid burdening this letter with too much detail, Georgia is an ideal state for a good negro, one who obeys the law, who knows and keeps his place, to reside in.

It may be and doubtless is true that Georgia is not a healthy place for the negro agitator, for those who wish to either preach or practice either social or political equality.

For that condition I am profoundly thankful, for nothing short of the spirit that animates the southern people in this matter could have preserved white supremacy in the south, or have kept these southern states either fit or safe for our white people, and all of these agitators in Georgia and out of it, white and black alike had just as well understand that this is a white's man's country and, please God, is going to remain a white man's country until the end of time.

Thoughtless, but often well-meaning people are sometimes deceived by the so-called statistics on lynching, they point to the alleged fact that since 1885, a period of almost forty years, the census figure show 415 "lynchings" in Georgia. Simila contentions are being made in booklets an other propaganda of that sort. I ques tion the fairness and challenge the accuracy of these "statistics."

Let me illustrate: Last week in Cow eta county, a negro criminal murdered deputy sheriff in cold blood, merely be cause the officer, in the performance of his duty, endeavored to arrest the negro under a warrant charging him with larceny. The murderer fled to the swamps. He resisted arrest, with arms in his hands. When the sheriff and his posse finally caught him and sought to arrest him, they were forced to kill him. This negro died in the execution of public justice, by "commandment of the law."

Case in Dooly County.

A similar case occurred too during the present week in Dooly county, where sheriff and his posse were forced to kill two negroes, who resisted the processes of the law with Winchester rifles, and killed one of the sheriff's posse, who was not a Georgian, but a white boy from New Jersey, a veteran of the world war.

And yet without a doubt, unless the methods employed in the past in preparing both "statistics" and "booklets" is changed, eventually these two tragedies, in which two brave white men gave up their lives for law enforcement, will be finally catalogued as "outrages against the negro," and as two more "lynchings" of poor negroes to "shame and disgrace Georgia."

Away with such stuff and nonsense. Let the law be upheld and enforced, rigidly and impartially, for the protection of white and black alike, but surely we ought to have some law, moral or otherwise, for the appropriate punishment of Georgians, however, misguided, who on the faith of "witnesses" that they cannot or will not name, dare to defame the people of Georgia, and to besmirch the good name of the state, throughout the republic.

May 21, 1921.

Very truly yours,
T. W. HARDWICK.

Resolutions Adopted.

The resolutions passed were as follows:

As Georgians, true to the traditions of our state, actuated by purpose to see that the ideals of the old and the well being of the new south shall be upheld and advanced, we look with grave concern upon the unrighteous methods of certain agencies, committees, newspapers and public officials who would tear down these traditions, endanger the well being of our people, and bring disrepute and heap disgrace upon the achievements and forbearance of a great civilization without which the negro would not now be enjoying the comforts or the protection of an existence where life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are the rich inheritance of all who respect the law of the land, and recognize the dignity and power of constituted authority.

Believing firmly and devoutly in that civilization which has no sympathy for oppression, which never has permitted and never will tolerate mistreatment of any member of the negro race who lives within the law and stays within his place, we condemn the recent activities of both press and public officials and organized professional reformers, in advertising Georgia to the world as a state where the negro is generally held in peonage and usually denied fair treatment by our courts and our juries.

That instances of brutal crimes have been shown during a long period of time, in a state where three million people, made up of the white and the negro races, almost equally divided, have lived in close industrial contact, is true. That this record of crime is greater and more grievous in Georgia than it is in other southern states, according to the population, and that this record is more alarming in of the southern states than it is in of the northern states, is untrue, and a feeling of unutterable contempt is felt by us for all southern men who would attempt to make it so appear. We denounce as libelous and farcical the presumptuous criticisms of our state by the people of other states, whose record of crime in all its monster horror is greater than the most exaggerated offenses charged against Georgia.

Georgia Has Prosecuted.

The discovery of dead bodies of negroes in a stream in Georgia would be a reflection upon our civilization, if our courts did not prosecute and our juries did not convict the criminal. This Georgia has done, and this is what Georgia is doing whenever the guilty are apprehended. Let our critics face the issue. There is not a stream in the union that has not given up its dead. A dead negro drawn from some stream in Georgia is certainly not more horrible than a dismembered white woman that is fished from the Hudson river in New York.

Lynching negroes in Georgia for the unpardonable crime against the Caucasian home is certainly not more heinous than burning whole negro settlements in Illinois, and feeding helpless inmates to the flames for the low, mercenary reason that they are undesirable labor competitors.

The military is never called out in Georgia to quell a riot on account of the negro pursuing his constitutional God-given right to live by the sweat of the brow. Whereas, within the short time of one state administration, a governor in the home of the great emancipator called out the military on two occasions, in order to keep white men from murdering negro men who had been employed as day laborers in a state that is now deprecating the lawlessness in Georgia.

Burying murdered negroes in Georgia who have committed no offense, is no worse than burying in his own cellar a millionaire white man in California who had committed no offense.

All good people, everywhere, condemn crime, and no civilization is to be held up to scorn so long as it stands for the punishment of the criminal. We denounce these evidences of hypocrisy on the part of our critics as unworthy of dignity, justice and honor.

The fact that the negro in Georgia has accumulated fifty or sixty million dollars in property; that he works without molestation by the side of the white man in our fields and factories; that he shares the taxes paid by the white man in the education of his children; that he enjoys the peace of home, the protection of our courts and the forbearance of our juries in cases of all petty crimes; that he enjoys to the fullest the blessings and pleasures of that society to which the God of Nature has fitted and designed, for him, is in itself a wholesome refutation of all these slanders on Georgia at home and abroad.

Assails Negro Organization.

It is our conviction that the negro in the south is concerned less about the so-called mistreatment and brutality of the white men than are many of his misguided white friends in the south who have allowed themselves to be led by the insidious influence of certain negro organizations in the east, chief of which is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

This association is pledged to fight for the abolition of the Jim Crow laws in the south. It has gone before a congress committee and demanded reduction of the south's representation. It is demanding abolition of segregation in the departments in Washington. It is responsible for the recent shameful and outrageous charges made against the armed forces of this country stationed in Haiti and who are accused of crimes against the natives as barbarous as any ever committed by the cannibals of the African jungles. Through its libelous propaganda it is inflaming the minds of the great mass of negroes in the south against the white race, and is holding out to them promises of social and political equality that its officials and backers, both white and black, know never can be fulfilled.

We are convinced that the present course of the N. A. A. C. P. co-operating with the inter-racial committee of Georgia, if pursued unrestrained, can have but one result—a clash between the races that may be disastrous for both.

Therefore be it resolved, That we, as Atlantans and Georgians, true to the high ideals of a proud inheritance, condemn these slanderous attacks upon the fair name of Georgia, whether by press, committee or public official, at home or abroad, and denounce as false and slanderous any attack that is based on the lynching table of statistics prepared and published by the Tuskegee institute, and we desire it understood that we condemn as unworthy his inheritance any south white man who would condemn this alleged lynching record taken from a negro publicist without denouncing the brutal crime that excites our people to uncontrolable passion.

TEXT AND PRETEXT

M. ASHBY JONES

He Who Hateth the Sight.

One of our very best Georgia editors explained editorially that he refused to publish the information contained in Governor Dorsey's pamphlet, exposing the injustice done to the negro, because he was not willing to give such adverse advertisement to Georgia. In the same issue of this paper there was published a letter from a young man from that city who was traveling abroad, in which he stated that when he reached Paris he was covered with shame and confusion to find on the front pages of the leading newspapers an account of the Jasper county horror.

Why can't we understand that what some of us fear to even whisper in secret has already been published on the housetops all over civilization?

It seems to me that it is an almost wilful misunderstanding and distortion of the truth to say that Governor Dorsey indicted the whole state of Georgia. Here is the significant explanation of the publication of that pamphlet. Governor Dorsey summoned a group of representative people from every section of this state and laid the evidence of injustices and cruelties to negroes before them. We all said, "These shameful things have been done by just a few people in the state of Georgia, and if we can get these facts to the attention of all the people of Georgia they will rise up in righteous indignation and right these wrongs."

Thus it must be seen that so far from charging these things to the people of the state as a whole, it was Governor Dorsey's faith, and that of his counselors, in the essential righteousness of Georgia people that caused this expose to be made. Now the real test is to come. Shall that faith be justified?

THE WAY OF THE OSTRICH.

I can warmly sympathize with the many good people who, in the first shock of this horrible revelation, questioned the accuracy of the record revealed. Few people at first could bring themselves to believe the really unbelievable brutality of the Jasper county murders. But I have no sympathy whatsoever with the inexcusable conduct of those who rush into print with a denial of the truth of the governor's statements without having first examined the evidence.

For example, the president of our senate fiercely denies the account given in the pamphlet of one of the most barbaric burnings of a negro known to the history of crime. Without any investigation he jumps to the conclusion that this lynching which Governor Dorsey describes was one which took place in Oglethorpe county. Then he proceeds to defend the burning of the negro in this county. I must say frankly, for my part, that the man who defends the burning of a human being by a mob, under any circumstances whatsoever, thereby reveals himself as unfit to become the defender of the good name of this state.

But as a matter of fact this righteous champion of the honor of Georgia was entirely mistaken. He only succeeded in adding another horrible lynching to the published record. The one referred to in the pamphlet occurred in Oconee county and its gruesome horror had already been published all over America and no one has yet dared to deny the facts.

FACING THE FACTS.

If we will but read its significance, nothing is quite so revelatory of our real situation as the sensational surprise which the publishing of this pamphlet has produced. Vastly more of this nature than is contained in the pamphlet had already been published, both in the local newspapers and in the papers abroad. These items had trickled through our local papers, usually in obscure paragraphs, but had often been featured in the papers outside of our state. The only novelty about this publication is that a governor has been faithful and fearless enough to gather the salient facts and focus the attention of Georgia upon its own record.

Let those who call this a slander face the undisputed record. Four hundred and five negroes have been illegally put to death in the state of Georgia since 1885, and many of them tortured with savage cruelty. Not one man out of all these mobs has been punished. Mr. Nevin calls attention to the fact that this amounts to one lynching for every month for thirty-five years. Is that a slander? Shall we try to defend that record or redeem it? That is the issue between the governor and those who attack him.

There is also the undisputed record of the expulsion of negroes from their homes and property and the burning of their churches in whole neighborhoods and sections of our state. To claim that these facts should not be published because they would poorly advertise our state or would interfere with the labor conditions upon our farms, is a grossly immoral protest. As a matter of fact we are blind if we cannot see that it is the Georgia mob which, by putting negroes lives and property in danger, is dealing a death blow to Georgia labor, on which our prosperity depends. And we must come to see that it is the Georgia mob, and not Georgia's governor, which is ruinously advertising us around the world as a lawless people.

DIVISION OF PSYCHOLOGICAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

Race Relations - 1921.

Governor Dorsey's Pamphlet on the Negro in Georgia (Comments on

PUBLICITY FAVORED FOR NEGRO STATUS IN SOME SECTIONS

ATLANTA GA EVE JOURNAL
APRIL 22, 1921

A widespread publicity campaign to acquaint Georgians with the conditions prevailing among the negroes of Georgia and the relations existing between white people and negroes in some sections of the state, was discussed at length at the first meeting of the State Inter-Racial Relationship Commission, at the Piedmont hotel Friday morning.

The meeting was called by Governor Hugh M. Dorsey. Rev. M. Ashby Jones was elected temporary chairman, with Marion M. Jackson temporary secretary.

The governor presented to the meeting a booklet he had prepared, showing in detail 150 cases of alleged cruelty to negroes, peonage and lynchings throughout the state. This booklet was read together with a series of remedies which the governor suggested.

The first of these remedies—a carefully conducted publicity campaign, was the subject of discussion among the members when the meeting adjourned for lunch.

John A. Manget, Rev. C. B. Wilmer and Rev. H. L. Grice spoke fervently in favor of such publicity, stating that when the people of Georgia are given the actual facts concerning the relations of white people and negroes in some sections, they will apply the remedy necessary.

"We will have the great moral strength of self-indictment behind us," said Dr. Wilmer, "and we need not fear the criticism of other sections of the country. If those sections desire to criticize us, they may—but in the meantime we will be working to rectify our conditions."

GEORGIA PEONAGE CASES ARE CITED

Constitution 4/23/21

At a meeting of the interracial committee at the Piedmont Friday noon, Governor Hugh M. Dorsey made a strong address, advocating a widespread publicity campaign to acquaint Georgians with peonage conditions in this state and bring about a better relation between the white and black races.

The governor presented to the committee, over which Dr. M. Ashby Jones presided, a booklet which he had prepared on approximately 150 peonage, alleged cruelty and lynching cases. After reading this, the chief executive of the state proposed a number of remedies for the violations. The following program was recommended.

Full investigation of conditions by Georgia people with full publicity. This feature was adopted.

An organized campaign, led by all churches in the state, to teach both to negroes and white people, justice, mercy and mutual forbearance.

Compulsory education for both races.

Formation of two state committees, one of white people and one of negroes, to hold conferences upon matters vital to both races.

Repeal or amendment of the wage labor contract law, under which, he said, negroes were arrested and their rights disregarded.

Establishment of a state constabulary.

Assessment of a fine upon every county in which a lynching takes place.

Enactment of laws instructing the governor to remove any county officer whose negligence or nonperformance of duty permits a lynching to take place.

Enactment of a law authorizing the governor to appoint a commission of three superior court judges to investigate a lynching; and authorizing the selection of grand and petit juries from the state at large to investigate lynchings.

Other meetings of the committee will be held soon.

DEMAND PROBE DORSEY CHARGES

Atlanta Constitution 5-23-21

Macon, Ga., May 22.—At a mass meeting today at the city auditorium, a resolution was adopted condemning Governor Dorsey for issuing his "peonage pamphlet" and petitioning the general assembly to "appoint a court of inquiry to make an investigation of the legality of the governor's appeal to a committee not under the direction of the judiciary."

The resolution concluded:

"If is be found that he has violated the oath of his oath in the premises, has committed libel against any county in Georgia, or fails to produce satisfactory evidence proving his charges, that the said governor, Hugh M. Dorsey, be impeached."

A substitute resolution, a modification, following two speeches in defense of the governor, was killed in committee. Former Congressman C. L. Bartlett was chairman of the meeting.

DORSEY IS ASKED TO PROVE ALLEGED PEONAGE IN STATE

Atlanta Constitution 4/22/21

Macon, Ga., May 11.—(Special.)—Resolutions demanding that Governor Hugh M. Dorsey substantiate the charges made in his pamphlet recently issued and sent to different parts of the country, and asking that he issue another pamphlet designating the county and giving the names of the persons who committed the "135 crimes against negroes," which the governor only identified as "number so-and-so," have been adopted by the Macon Guardians of Liberty.

The text of the resolution follows:

"Whereas, Hugh M. Dorsey has by publishing and circulating or permitting the circulation of the above named pamphlet, defamed and libeled the state of Georgia and her citizens; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we call on all able sons of this state to join us in demanding that Hugh M. Dorsey substantiates his charges at once by issuing a statement setting out all relevant matter and details; and if he fails to do so, immediately institute proceedings against him."

RACE RELATIONS COMMITTEE BACKS DORSEY CHARGES

5-30-21

Only Two Cases Cited by Governor in Pamphlet Have Been Seriously Assailed, It Is Stated.

Constitution

NINE METHODS GIVEN TO RELIEVE SITUATION

Negro Does Not and Cannot Threaten White Supremacy, Says Statement by Leading Georgians.

Declaring that Governor Hugh M. Dorsey's booklet, "The Negro in Georgia," was supported by unimpeachable evidence, more than fifty Georgia citizens issued a signed statement Sunday night in which charges that the committee on race relations is connected with the national association for the advancement of colored people were vigorously denied and nine methods of relieving the present situation were advocated.

The statement declares that the committee opposes social equality between the races; politicians seeking offices by fanning flames of race prejudice; criminals by their lawless acts bringing condemnation upon Georgia; murder, peonage, night-riding mobs; violation of contracts by laborer or employee, and the propaganda being used to inflame the minds of both whites and blacks with reference to race relations.

Two Cases Questioned.

"Governor Dorsey has placed before us 135 cases of alleged mistreatment of negroes called to his official attention in the past two years," reads the statement.

"Only two of the cases have been seriously questioned. The majority of them are confirmed by letters from sheriffs, solicitors-general, the report of the adjutant general of the state, and by letters from business men and citizens whose standing cannot be questioned."

Starting that the negro does not and cannot threaten white supremacy, the committee advocates the following methods of relieving the situation:

Education of both races.

Upholding and protecting the purity of both races.

Enforcement of contracts and the law.

Immediate arrest of all persons charged with crime, their protection while being held, a speedy and fair trial, and quick punishment of those convicted.

Separate, but decent, sanitary and adequate accommodations for both races.

Removal of causes of friction by conferences between representatives of both races.

Publicity.

The gospel of justice, mercy and mutual forbearance for all.

Statement in Full.

The statement in full follows:

"To the People of Georgia: The undersigned citizens of Georgia were called together April 22, 1921 by Governor Hugh M. Dorsey to consider the 'Statement as to the Negro in Georgia,' prepared by the governor. After careful consideration, we organized the committee on race relations, approved and accepted full responsibility for Governor Dorsey's statement, and sent copies of it to the press of Georgia, the judges, sheriffs and members of the general assembly, and to the clergy of the state, inviting suggestions from all. Having met again, at the call of our chairman, on May 26, to consider further the matter of race relations in the state, we desire to set forth certain facts and principles, which, we believe, will meet with the approval of the majority of Georgians.

"Governor Dorsey has placed before us 135 cases of the alleged mistreatment of negroes called to his official attention in the last two years. Only two of the cases have been seriously considered. The majority of them are confirmed by letters from sheriffs, solicitors-general and the report of the adjutant general of the state, and by letters from business men and citizens whose standing cannot be questioned. The mistreatment shown ranges from burning to beating and threats to kill.

"These 135 cases added to the 415 lynchings of negroes which have occurred in Georgia in the past thirty-five years, shock the conscience of all Georgia. They demand a remedy. He who would oppose an intelligent effort to correct such conditions should be, and will be, recognized either as an enemy to the common good, or a man lost to reason.

"A three-fold danger economic, civil and moral, threatens the state.

"In two counties of Georgia not one negro remains. In others, the negroes has fled from farms not to escape peonage or a cruel employer but because ruffians have threatened him with death if he stays and works. His employer has been willing to protect him, but at last the night-riding terror has driven him away.

Must Have Negro Labor.

"Our farms must have negro labor, if agriculture is to continue the basis of our wealth.

"But worse than the loss of the negro labor is the ultimate anarchy that must result, if lawless groups in any county are permitted to continue to drive people away at will.

"The spread of lynching is seen by all. We condemn with unutterable loathing the unmentionable crime so often given as an excuse to justify lynching, but we recognize that, while lynching has not stopped that occasional crime, the crime of lynching has grown. A woman has been lynched in Georgia for talking indiscreetly. She protested against the murder of her husband. Another, within the last ninety days, was drowned by a mob by night. She was said to have helped one of her race charged with crime to escape. Men accused of trivial offenses and whites have been lynched, and none knows how many mistakes have been made.

"The most sacred rights of person and property are put in jeopardy for all, when cowardly mobs can deny the rights of indictments and trial by jury and lynch men and women at will.

"The moral peril is greater. The negro does not and cannot threaten white supremacy. He neither desires nor expects social equality. The negro is not so stupid. He asks only for justice. And no civilization can refuse to give him justice and survive. History shows that the stronger race denying justice to the weaker people destroys first its own moral fiber and ultimately brings destruction upon itself.

"Therefore we ask our fellow citizens to unite with us in upholding white supremacy by maintaining the principles of righteousness and justice upon which white supremacy depends.

"We have no affiliation with 'The National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People,' or any other similar organization within or without the state of Georgia.

What Committee Asks.

We advocate—

"1. Education for all—none should be left to learn by chance those things which civilization demands of man regardless of color.

"2. Upholding and protecting the purity of both the white and negro races.

"3. The enforcement of contracts and of the law.

"4. The immediate arrest of all persons charged with crime, their protection under arrest, a speedy and fair trial, and the quick punishment of those convicted.

"5. The support of all public officials in the performance of their duties; the condemnation of those who fail through fault of their ow to uphold the law.

"6. Separate, but decent sanitary and adequate accommodations for both races.

(over)

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(From over)

"7. The removal of causes for friction, fear, suspicion and ill-will between whites and blacks by intelligent conference and co-operation between the leaders of both races.

"8. Publicity: knowledge of facts will end any evil.

"9. The gospel of justice, mercy and mutual forbearance for all.

"We oppose—

"1. Social equality between the races.

"2. Politicians seeking office by fanning the flames of race prejudice.

"3. Criminal by their lawless acts bringing condemnation upon all Georgia.

"4. Lynch law and mob violence.

"5. Murder, peonage, night-riding mobs, and other forms of crime, and those who defend such crimes as evidence of or necessary to white supremacy.

"6. The violation of contracts by aborer or employer.

"7. The propaganda being used to inflame the minds of both whites and blacks with reference to the question of race relations.

"8. The oppression and intimidation of the weak and ignorant.

Ask for Support.

"As Georgians, we have been stirred and moved by a study of race conditions in Georgia and the south to try to serve our state and people. We ask and believe that we shall receive your support."

Signed by Samuel B. Adams, Savannah, Ga.; W. W. Alexander, Atlanta, Ga.; Victor Allen, Buford, Ga.; Theodore E. Atkinson, Newnan, Ga.; William H. Barrett, Augusta, Ga.; William Bradford, Cedartown, Ga.; L. O. Bricker, Atlanta, Ga.; Mrs. B. M. Boykin, Atlanta, Ga.; Elliott Cheatham, Atlanta, Ga.; Mrs. Elliott Cheatham, Atlanta, Ga.; Andrew J. Cobb, Athens, Ga.; Harry Curtis, Macon, Ga.; Charles W. Daniel, Atlanta, Ga.; Mrs. Archibald Davis, Atlanta, Ga.; Plato T. Durham, Atlanta, Ga.; Mrs. Plato T. Durham, Atlanta, Ga.; John J. Eagan, Atlanta, Ga.; H. A. Etheridge, Atlanta, Ga.; James P. Faulkner, Atlanta, Ga.; Floyd Field, Atlanta, Ga.; Miss Irma E. Finley, Atlanta, Ga.; Mrs. Z. I. Fitzpatrick, Madison, Ga.; Walter B. Hill, Athens, Ga.; Morton S. Hodgson, Athens, Ga.; M. M. Jackson, Atlanta, Ga.; C. O. Jones, Atlanta, Ga.; M. S. Brittain, Atlanta, Ga.; M. Ashby Jones, Atlanta, Ga.; W. P. King, Decatur, Ga.; J. R. McCain, Decatur, Ga.; John A. Manget, Atlanta, Ga.; David Marx, Atlanta, Ga.; Mrs. George Mathews, Fort Valley, Ga.; K. G. Matheson, Atlanta, Ga.; W. W. Memminger, Atlanta, Ga.; Jesse R. Mercer, Fitzgerald, Ga.; F. Roger Miller, Macon, Ga.; James Morton, Atlanta, Ga.; John B. Moss, Athens, Ga.; Mrs. W. J. Neel, Cartersville, Ga.; James B. Nevin, Atlanta, Ga.; L. D. Newton, Atlanta, Ga.; W. L. Phillips, Louisville, Ga.; D. Turner Quillian, Gainesville, Ga.; W. Frank Smith, Atlanta, Ga.; Mrs. W. Frank Smith, Atlanta, Ga.; Mrs. J. T. Stephenson, Atlanta, Ga.; Nathan Thompson, Norcross, Ga.; Marvin L. Throwey, Atlanta, Ga.; E. M. Underwood, Atlanta, Ga.; W. Woods White, Atlanta, Ga.; C. B. Wilmer, Atlanta, Ga. J. Bailey Gordon, Rome, Ga.

HARDWICK TAKES OATH OF OFFICE AS ST... LEADER

Who Have Held ... of Chief Execu... of Georgia Attend Ceremonies.

HARDWICK PROMISES REGIME OF ECONOMY

New Governor Brands as False Charges That Negro Is Mistreated in Georgia.

6/26/21 Constitution

Thomas W. Hardwick, former United States senator from Georgia and congressman from the Tenth district, Saturday at noon took the oath of office as governor of Gergia, succeeding Hugh M. Dorsey, who for the past four years has held the reins of state government as its chief executive.

The open-air inaugural ceremonies were conducted on the lawn of the state capitol, a large audience being in attendance to witness the change of administration.

The oath of office was administered by Judge Roscoe Luke, of the state court of appeals. As it was completed, the retiring governor received from the hands of Secretary of State S. Guyt McLendon the great seal of state and presented it to the new executive.

The Moultrie band struck up the strains of "Dixie" and the throng cheered as Governor Hardwick rose to deliver his inaugural address.

Raising one of his hands for quiet, he began his address — the whole of which is published elsewhere in this edition—which reviewed the state's condition and ended in a bitter attack on what he termed "the indictment of Georgia" by responsible and respectable citizens and officials of the state.

Return to Democracy.

A return to democratic simplicity and economy was one of the indications and intentions of the last general election, declared the chief executive. "Pay as we go" must be the motto of the state and not even common schools and Confederate veterans should be appropriated funds unless the incoming revenue was sufficient to meet them, he continued.

Boards, commissions and unimportant state offices came in for a broadside, and when the governor shouted that he intended to "sweep" them out of the capitol, he was greeted with applause. Diversification of Georgia crops and a new system of marketing were recommended, and the prediction made that the "farmers would be kings of finance" if a new system were adopted.

"Such a burden at this particular time," said the governor in speaking of the charges of peonage and mistreatment of blacks in Georgia, "above all others, should not have been imposed upon him; it is an outrageous, unjustified, and unjustifiable proceeding. There is no real basis, in truth and in fact, upon which the accusation can rest. I assert, measuring and weighing my words, that there is no state in this union, and no country in this world, having within its limits anything like an even division of its populaton between the white and black races, in which the relations between the two races are more harmonious than right here in the state of Georgia."

Former Governor Dorsey smiled as the speaker continued his attack and remained silent as a matter of courtesy and consideration of the occasion.

Vereen Pays Tribute.

Governor Hardwick resumed his seat amid applause. President Herbert Clay, of the senate, who presided over the ceremonies, arose and introduced William J. Vereen, of Moultrie, chairman of the state democratic executive committee. Mr. Vereen paid tribute to the new governor, declaring that "he is the greatest Georgian of today."

In conclusion, he presented to Mr. Hardwick, in behalf of numerous friends throughout the state, a gold fountain pen. The governor accepted with a few words of appreciation.

President Clay rose, and Rev. W. W. Memminger, of All Saints church, of which Governor and Mrs. Hardwick are members, gave the benediction. When he had finished hundreds of persons rushed to the platform to congratulate the governor.

In addition to Governor Hardwick and the retiring chief executive, three former heads of the state were on the platform. Hoke Smith was seated next to Joseph M. Brown and Nat E. Harris. Despite the fact, ex-Senator Smith and former Governor Brown were participants in several hard-fought campaigns, they were together constantly after meeting each other in the executive department.

Seated on Platform.

Members of the court of appeals and supreme court, state house officials, Speaker W. Cecil Neill, of the house; Mrs. Hardwick and Mrs. Dorsey, Mrs. Rawlings, daughter of the new governor; Mr. and Mrs. James B. Nevin, Mr. and Mrs. Walter P. Andrews, the joint inaugural committee, veterans of the Spanish-American war, D. F. McClatchey, secretary of the senate, and others were seated on the platform.

After the ceremonies, Governor Hardwick returned to the executive department, where he received his friends for an hour and witnessed Justice Luke administer the oath of office to Attorney-General-elect George M. Napier. On the governor's desks was a huge broom with the words "wisdom, justice and moderation," painted on the handle. A blue ribbon bore the inscription, "To Governor Thomas W. Hardwick, from Friends of the Twelfth Congressional District."

The governor-elect left the Georgian Terrace hotel at eleven o'clock. Accompanying him in the automobile were the president of the senate, speaker of the house and chairman of the state democratic executive committee. At Peachtree and Harris, the honorary escort met the party and proceeded to the capitol.

Large Crowd in Attendance.

For more than two hours, the large crowd had been awaiting the inaugural party. As the Moultrie band marched up to the main entrance of the capitol, and the Spanish War veterans, under the command of B. Bernard, divided ranks the cheering began and reached its height when Mr. Hardwick walked toward the steps.

Balloons were flying. Movie cameramen were dashing everywhere. Two newspaper photographers ran just ahead of the governor-elect, snapping their machines without stopping. Every window in the capitol was filled with occupants. And amid all the noise and celebration, a fire engine dashed out of the station across the street, its weird whistle shrieking above the clamor.

When Mr. Hardwick entered the executive department, Governor Dorsey was informed he had arrived and immediately came from his private office. The two met, shook hands and were surrounded by friends. Several women presented the officials with carnations, and for the next 30 minutes, both the incoming and retiring governors were engaged in greeting visitors.

Parade Is Halted.

A few minutes before 12, Governor Dorsey walked with the governor-elect from the department. Behind them followed Nat Harris, Hoke Smith, Joe Brown, statehouse officials, justices of both the highest courts of the state and others. The general assembly, which had been in session, came next.

Just as he reached the foot of the steps, Mr. Hardwick halted the parade to shake hands with an old confederate veteran. The crowd gave way before the approaching officials and the platform was reached. President Clay and Speaker Neill arrived a few minutes later. The former presented Mr. Memminger and the invocation followed.

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Individual Discussions

Race Relations – 1921.

Governor Dorsey's Pamphlet on the Negro in Georgia (Comment on)

GOVERNMENT AGENTS SCOUR GEORGIA IN PEONAGE PROBE

Fifty Secret Service Men Pour Into "Empire State" to Investigate Charges of Compulsory Servitude

GOVERNOR DORSEY TO AID IN INVESTIGATION

Solicitors All Over State Are Ordered to Push Prosecutions of Peonage and Mob Violence

4/26/21 Montgomery Advertiser

(Associated Press)

ATLANTA, GA., April 25.—Fifty government secret service agents will scour Georgia in a sweeping investigation of alleged peonage cases said to be flooding the state from one end to the other. Vincent Hughes, head of the local bureau of investigation, declared today that information of peonage and mob violence is being received from all sections of the state and that the government department will leave no stone unturned to bring the guilty to justice. He also stated that many charges of peonage are entirely groundless on investigation.

Promise of full co-operation to the extent of the entire force back of every solicitor in the state has been promised the department of justice by Governor Dorsey, it was stated today that he would call upon every solicitor in the state to immediately prosecute all cases of violence to negroes and to bring to the prompt attention of grand juries charges of peonage or mob violence. He declared he would do all in his power to bring the real situation in Georgia before its citizens.

Investigation of peonage charges brought new results today in the indictment of J. B. Stripling, a Pake county farmer. Government secret service men, according to the announcement of the chief of the department, are busy on investigation of the killing of three negroes said to have been held in peonage. The negroes are said to have been killed to prevent their appearance as witnesses in peonage cases. The department declines to give the nafe of the county where the killgroes are said to have been killed and will probably not make the name public until the present investigation going on in this particular county is completed. The county is said to be located in South Georgia.

FOSKEGEE INST ALA

Governor Dorsey today promised to bring the peonage situation before the legislature and declared that he would see that all possible publicity is given all cases of peonage and mistreatment of negroes. The governor recently made public more than 100 cases of alleged killings and mistreatment of negroes from scattered sections of the state.

Tom Watson Charges Reserve Board With Fight on Business

7/5/21 Montgomery Advertiser

(Associated Press)

UNION CITY, GA., July 4.—The Federal Reserve Board has been conducting warfare against American business, United States Senator Thomas E. Watson, Georgia, declared here today at a Fourth of July celebration in which he attacked the deflation policy of the board.

The board, he said, "rewarded your patriotism by striking down your business as ruthlessly as German submarines struck down commerce of neutral nations on the high seas.

"A blacker chapter never was written in the history of any government, more cruel tyranny was never perpetrated by Herod or Nero. Today we find comparatively six million men throughout this country starving or begging or stealing or suiciding."

The occasion was an Independence Day celebration, typical of those held in Georgia previous to the war between the states before oratory and basket dinners had been substituted by fire works. In addition to Senator Watson, former United States Senator Hardwick, the newly inaugurated governor of Georgia, addressed the gathering which was estimated at between twelve and fifteen thousand people. Charles S. Barrett, president of the National Farmers Union wrose home is here presided and directed the singing which included patriotic and religious songs and was joined in by hundreds at the open air meeting.

Senator Watson charged that "pressure comes from federal reserve banks" to make the farmers sell their cotton before the new crop comes in and declared "the word comes to sell it out although it brings eight or ten cents a pound when it costs thirty cents to produce it.'"

Mr. Watson explained his proposition for the government to make liberty bonds acceptable at par as money and advocated free school books in Georgia. Both he and Governor Hardwick discussed the race question briefly. Mr. Watson urged self restraint and conservation on both sides and full legal rights for the negro.

"To go further than that is treading upon dangerous ground," he added, "The right to vote is a political right. Whenever the black man votes it is by privilege of the white man who fought out the civilization in which the black man finds himself."

In touching upon the race problem Governor Hardwick declared "God Almighty made this a white man's country and by His splendor and grace we will keep it so."

Mr. Hardwick dwelt long upon the the necessity for economy in state finances and said his message to the legislature on the subject would propose cutting expenses "to the bone" and eliminating "every useless office holder." By fall he said the state will have a deficit of three million five hundred thousand dollars.

Congressman Upshaw of Georgia and others made addresses.

attendance of white and Negro members and visitors, and the chairman was empowered to call the members together as occasion required when racial disorder or other emergency arose.

Miss Esther Morton Smith, a member of the Yearly Meeting of Arch Street Friends, recounted with many humorous details her experiences on a trip through the South, with a minute from her Meeting to the Southern Governors on the subject of lynching. She and her cousin, Mrs. Norman Hallowell, of New England, were received with courtesy and consideration by the Executives of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky and South Carolina.

A sub-committee was appointed to draw up a strong letter of sympathetic appreciation of the stand taken by Governor Dorsey, of Georgia, in his effort to bring about State legislation and enforcement to cleanse the good name of his State from the stains of peonage, murder and lynching.

The recent anniversary of Hampton Institute was described by the chairman, Mrs. Anne Biddle Stirling. She said that the thorough education of head, hand and heart so that going out into the world the student may be able to fit himself to any possible environment and render loving service to mankind therein was the "Idea of Hampton," the light which Hampton gives her students that they may in turn hand on to their race.

Special emphasis was laid on the beauty of Hampton, the simple dignity and effective directness of her men and women and the Christian spirit of service.

INTER-RACIAL BODY INDORSES DORSEY

Sympathy Shown Georgia's Governor in His Fight on Peonage and Lynching

Wilmington Advocate 4/14/21

Philadelphia, May 10.—"What steps ought to be taken to meet emergency excitement," was the special subject discussed by the Inter-Racial Committee of Philadelphia at its May meeting on Saturday, at the residence of Mrs. William I. Hull, at Swarthmore. There was a full

H. SMITH DEFENDS GEORGIA

Journal & Guide 6/25/21

Makes Protest Against Expose of Lawlessness and Mob Violence. Norfolk Virginian-Pilot Replies in Sound Editorial

GEORGIA HER OWN ENEMY

Washington, June 18.—A protest against holding up the "peonage cases" as an indictment against the State of Georgia was voiced tonight by former Senator Hoke Smith, in an address before the Georgia society, of Washington.

"You know and should let it be known," he said, "that, with rare exceptions, the white people of Georgia are law-abiding citizens and treat Negroes just and kindly, and that the wholesale tirade upon the subject of 'peonage' which has recently found its way into the press of the country is unwarranted and unjustifiable.

"Unfortunately in all the States there occur, now and then, crimes which shock the public sense, but this gives warrant to no one to indulge in general condemnation of that State."

The former senator said the public generally also should be informed that the Negro who confessed to the murders on the Jasper county farm and the white man who was charged with directing the murders, had both been promptly convicted.

He explained in detail the so-called "peonage" system by which a white farmer might pay fines imposed on Negroes and then require the latter to work for him until reimbursement had been made.

Declaring that he did not condone peonage, he pointed out that the practice permitted "the farmer to secure a needed laborer and the convicted criminal to escape the disgrace of working on the chain-gang." During his term as governor, Mr. Smith said, he did not hear of a single case of peonage.

"I would not for a moment have you do otherwise than condemn lawlessness wherever found," the speaker continued, "and our influence should always be given for equality of treatment in courts without regard to race.

"It should be said to the credit of the State of Georgia that, despite the opinion to the contrary, which is seemingly held by uninformed people throughout the country, very few cases, even of technical peonage, have been found in Georgia."

"Cruel coincidence times Senator Hoke Smith's valiant defense of law-abiding Georgia with another burning at the stake. The defense took place before the Georgia Society of Washington. The reply was made at Moultrie. For moral-deducing purposes it does not matter that the crime anteceded the speech. It was but one of many identical crimes that are written in Georgia's fearful record. Senator Smith spoke in full knowledge of all of them. He protested against holding up the 'peonage cases' as an indictment against the whole State.

"'You know and should let it be known,' he said, 'that with rare exceptions, the white people of Georgia are law-abiding citizens and treat Negroes just and kindly.'"

"Precisely that is what most of us believe. There is no disposition anywhere to draw an indictment against a whole State. Yet, tragically enough it is Georgia herself that periodically contradicts the respect for law that public opinion is so willing to believe she possesses. There are lynchings in other States, but nowhere do they occur with the regularity and with the degree of attendant horror that distinguishes these degrading spectacles in the commonwealth of Senator Smith. In spite of every desire to honor Georgia's good intentions and every wish to avoid unfair deductions, the belief is surely finding lodgment in the American mind that, in at least the backwaters of Georgia's rural civilization there survives in a more malignant form than is known anywhere else in the United States, primitive racial savagery.

"What chance has an eloquent plea for a softer opinion of Georgia's attitude to her Negro population against the stench of roasting human flesh? The Moultrie criminal had committed an abominable offense. A jury had found him guilty in two minutes. In a few days he would have paid the extreme penalty of the law. What defense is so logical and compelling

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that it can mitigate the savage overtrampling of decency involved in snatching the victim from the very jaws of his legal punishment and doing him to death over a slow fire?

"What happened at Moultrie is only the repetition of an old story. But it is not for that reason an act to be passed over in silence. It is the pious duty of every agency of information to proclaim its infamy at each recurrence. If Georgia is to redeem her good name and America is to wash herself clean of the moral leprosy that expresses itself in outbreaks like the recent one in Tulsa, the campaign against racial savagery must proceed. A holier mission has never confronted the United States of America, for it concerns the Justice without which our civilization can not breathe.

HARDWICK SOFT PEDALS PEONAGE

The Eagle 7/2/21

Atlanta, June 29.—Tension in Georgia on the question of peonage is tightening. The subject is a matter of very quiet political discussion everywhere. The issue will be clear cut the next time Georgians go to the polls. The state constitution vests such weighty authority in the hands of county officers that the governor of the state has no specific legal jurisdiction over mob violence or lynchings.

Ex-Governor Dorsey, endeavoring to centralize state control over these crimes was driven from office by the guilt-crazed Georgians. He was succeeded by Mr. Thomas Hardwick, former senator from these precincts. In his first address, Mr. Hardwick extolled the name of Georgia and the high character and determination of the followers of Ogelthorpe. He claimed that the state had been unduly libeled in cases of peonage, and that worthless members of the colored race had received all that was coming to them.

Mr. Hardwick went so far as to defend the Georgia system of peonage as a necessity for the white farmers and as a blessing to the Negro convict. He did not state the fact that any good sheriff can make $25,000 a year by rounding up and locking up a half hundred Negroes a day, and that for this reason the county sheriff's job looks better than that of governor.

Interest is aroused from a new angle in dissemination of Catholic comment on the situation by the Baltimore Catholic Church Review:

There is more bigotry to the square mile in Georgia than in any other state of the Union. Georgia sent a bigot to the Senate—a man who teaches the Un-American doctriie of discrimination against those who refuse to believe on religious issues as that Senator and his electorate want them to believe, but who proved their Americanism by fighting on the fields of Europe when the Americanism of many of their bigoted foes was fairly open to suspicion.

Georgia refused to execute murderers of negroes simply because of racial prejudices, though she does not hesitate to lynch negroes on little or no evidence. These has been a man of God in Georgia, a true Southerner every inch of him, who has had the courage to denounce the persecution of the negro, who has called murder murder when conscienceless juries refused to call it so, who has declared that the refusal of such juries to give death sentences to murderers of negroes a travesty on justice. He is Bishop Benjamin Keiley.

Now, a bigoted statesman (?) from Georgia, through one of his publications, dares to slander this servant of God—dares to speak of him in terms almost too indecent to print in a reputable newspaper. One wonders how some minds can become so dirty as to think of some of the things that have been said of Bishop Keiley and other Catholics in Georgia.

Poor, poor Georgia is a state of illiteracy, and yet one of her former Senators stood up in this city a few weeks ago and attacked the Catholics of this country for using the lash, as he termed it, in driving their children into the parochial schools. It would not hurt Georgia to have some of her illiterates driven with the lash into schools. It would not hurt that state to have some of her alleged statesmen forced to swallow the medicine of common decency and common truth The mental appendix of such alleged statesmen is gangrenous. The surgeon's knife is needed. When learnn gand decency and truth become nore wide-spread in certain parts of Georgia, then human life will be respected. Until that time comes what else can the country expect? If it is wrong to execute the murderers of negroes and not wrong to lynch negroes on little or no evidence; if it is not wrong to sneer at the courts of laws and t ousurp their rights, then, how in the name of all that is good and pure can we expect such people with such ideals to think that it is wrong to try to murder the characters and stab the reputations of men the latchets of whose shoes they are not worthy to loose?

There are so many good people in Georgia, so many fair-minded, non-Catholics, so many lovers of fair-play and decency that we pity them for the disgrace their State must bear and we express the hope that the day is soon coming when respect for a man's life and a man's character will increase in that commonwealth.

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Race Relations — 1921.

Individual Discussions

Governor Dorsey's Pamphlet on the Negro in Georgia (comments on

Judge Joel Branham Gives Warning By Citing Words of Able Counsellors

Constitution 6-21-21

Editor Constitution: This is "a white man's country." Let us keep it so!

It can only be done by the observance and enforcement of law. Governor Dorsey's paper on the subject is not a new thing. It is an old cry, a warning unheeded, given and emphasized by the lawyers at Tybee island at the 33d annual session of the Georgia Bar association on June 3, 1916.

In his address on that occasion Judge Samuel B. Adams said:

"The published statistics show that last year there were sixty-nine lynchings in the United States. More than one-fourth of them occurred in Georgia; fifty-five were negroes, three were women. In not less than four cases it was demonstrated, after the lynching, that the persons lynched were innocent of the offense charged against them. A number of the charges were small offenses. All good citizens deplore our disgraceful record. . . . No man ought to be elected governor of Georgia who hesitates to come out flat-footed against lynching, whatever the cause, and without evasion or turning." (Report referred to, pages 57-161.)

Luther Z. Rosser, in his able paper, says:

"Lynching now disgraces and has long disgraced the state of Georgia, more than any other state, except Mississippi and Louisiana. From 1890 to 1905 there were in Georgia 237 lynchings. . . . He is the arch traitor of them all who as the purchase price of its votes, corruptly deifies the mob as the savior of the state from courts which he claims are inefficient, and from governors he charges are faithless." (Pages 111-115.)

The address of Robert C. Alston is a very able and comprehensive one. It gave me pleasure then, as it does now, to indorse it and say of it: "He has sounded a note of warning to us. Let us heed it."

Mr. Alston cited and discussed at length the fourteenth amendment and the power of congress to enforce its provisions by appropriate legislation, and he cited a number of decisions of the supreme court of the United States, on statutes passed under it, for the protection of the negro—among them the conspiracy law, discriminating laws, the civil rights act of 1875, and the ruling that these laws only prevented the states from discriminating against them, and he took great comfort in the decision of Mr. Justice Harlan in 109th United States, in which he held the last named act unconstitutional, though in that decision the punishment of a Virginia judge by a federal court for refusing to draw negroes on the jury was affirmed.

Mr. Alston further said:

"The experience of the state in the reconstruction era, and especially in the earlier days thereof, left its white people with a determination that the government of this state should be in the hands of its white citizens. This was the result of both self interest and altruistic impulses. It is not the purpose of this paper to break down that determination. It is my purpose to speak to you to the end that the people of this state do nothing which imperil this condition.

"If congress can punish a judge for refusing to include any negroes in the jury list for the purpose of trying a negro, why can it not punish a sheriff for refusing to protect a negro while awaiting trial?

"If congress has the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions which prevent a state from taking life and liberty or property of its citizens by due process of law, why may it not determine that in order to fulfill this guarantee it may make the sheriff directly amenable to its jurisdiction in such matters?

"It is, of course, first the duty of the citizen to refrain from lawlessness, and thereby deprive the general government of excuse for this interference with state laws.

"It is next the duty of the state to so order its laws that the insufficiency of them will not be so glaring and atrocious.

"No one who has the slightest knowledge of the subject doubts but that the laws of this state are inadequate to the subject, both as to enactment and administration.

"No person who is the custodian of an atom of the state's power should be unmindful of the fact that every time he so uses that power that it deprives any citizen of the United States of life, liberty or property without due process of law, or denies to him the equal protection of the law, he challenges the national government to assert more and more its power to the exclusion of the power of the state.

"If the states fail to give adequate protection, how shall the federal government exercise its power to fulfill the guarantee of the fourteenth amendment?

"The amendment itself says that it shall be done by appropriate legislation. Who shall determine what is appropriate legislation? Manifestly congress in the first instance, finally the courts.

"Who will say that it will not in time regulate the entire subject of intoxicating liquors?

"These are mentioned to show you that no one can wisely say that, because the federal government has not reached into a given subject heretofore, it will not do so now.

"No one who feels himself the guardian of state rights will for one moment dare arouse the power of the federal government to exercise its power to guarantee, by appropriate legislation, that the state will not deprive a citizen of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny him the equal protection of the law.

"It can no longer be said that lynching is committed for one crime: it is only a few months ago that two negroes were lynched for killing a mule. Everybody knows that that condition ought not to exist, and yet none raises his hand to its cure. Does not this all but invite the federal government to take cognizance of the guarantee?"

Mr. Alston made a number of suggestions as to how the law should be amended, and insisted that it was the state's primary duty to prevent lynching, and warned us that if we failed to do it, the strong arm of the federal government would reach out and take charge of the whole matter, and that it would probably result in very great injury to the state. (Report page 141.)

J. BRANHAM.

Rome, Ga., May 29, 1921.

Bishop Keiley Appeals To Christian Sentiment

5-28-21.

Editor Constitution: Will you permit me to call the attention of the readers of The Constitution to some practical thoughts, which seem to have been overlooked, or entirely forgotten recently.

With regard to the sensational charges recently made by Governor Dorsey, the question is not: What were the motives which prompted his statement, but: Are the charges true?

There may have been inaccuracies, or even some misstatements and exaggerations in the governor's pamphlet, but the only question is: Are the facts sufficient to bear out the charges made by him?

I have never met the governor, in fact I never saw him, but he must have had the confidence of Georgians, for they made him governor twice, and as he has done an unpopular thing by calling public attention to Georgia's shame, I am bound to assume he was honest.

Is there an honest, truth-telling man in Georgia that does not know that negroes have been burned at the stake, hanged, shot and drowned in this state by mobs, and that no one has ever been punished for these atrocious murders?

What is to be the result of Governor Dorsey's charges?

Will the Christian sentiment of Georgia be so aroused that an end will be put to these horrible crimes?

Will the legislature act?

I do not believe it will.

I hope I may be wrong!

Is there a remedy?

Yes.

But God grant that the state will not force the federal government to apply it.

BENJ. J. KEILEY.
Bishop of Savannah.

Savannah, Ga., May 26, 1921.

Wilkes County Has Never Had a Lynching

Constitution 7/1/21

The Constitution is in receipt of a communication signed by Garnett Green, W. H. Barnett and K. A. Wilheit, members of the Kiwanis club of Washington, Wilkes county, Georgia, referring to a recently printed statement in the press to the effect that in his message delivered to the general assembly when it recently convened, Governor Dorsey referred, in naming other counties, to three lynchings as having occurred in Wilkes county.

This article went the rounds of the press and it was, of course, an error.

Governor Dorsey promptly advised friends in Washington and Wilkes county that he had made no such reference to that county.

No county in Georgia is freer from the stain of lynching than the county of Wilkes, which has never had a lynching within its borders and the population of which is composed of as fine a type of people as is to be found in any county in this country.

Just how the error above referred to occurred is not understood, but, at any rate, it was an error and merits prompt correction.

DORSEY RETRACTS PART OF PAMPHLET

Constitution 7/1/21

Thomaston, Ga., June 30.—(Special.)—A letter from Hugh M. Dorsey, retracting statements relative to the alleged treatment of a negro in Upson county, which Mr. Dorsey made in his pamphlet while governor, has been made public by a committee of Upson county citizens.

The open letter from the committee, including the letter from the former governor, is as follows:

To the People of Georgia:

In the recent "Statement From Governor Hugh M. Dorsey as to the Negro in Georgia," which was printed in pamphlet form and given wide publicity, there appeared certain alleged facts as to the case of Ed White, colored, of The Rock, Upson county, Georgia.

Knowing these alleged facts to be absolutely false and misleading, the people of Upson county held a mass meeting and adopted resolutions deploring their publication. A committee composed of Dr. A. H. Black, a leading physician of Thomaston and president of the Sixth District Medical Society; Dr. Lincoln McConnel, lecturer of national reputation; B. G. McKenney, ex-representative of Upson county; E. T. Walls, justice of the peace; Powell Stephens, merchant and farmer, and J. B. Hardy, editor of The Thomaston Times, was appointed to refute with unimpeachable affidavits the alleged facts set out in the governor's pamphlet. These the committee secured and presented in person to the governor for his consideration with a request for a retraction of the charges against the good name of Upson county as set out in his pamphlet.

Governor Dorsey Withdraws Charges.

The refutation was conclusive and the committee quotes from the governor's reply to it:

"Atlanta, Ga., June 23, 1921.

"Gentlemen: After giving the matter full consideration, I beg to say that you seem to have made out your case so far as some of the allegations in the pamphlet are concerned. I feel compelled to accept the testimony offered in the matter of the treatment of Ed White and his family in the jail, and concerning the time when the wife and children of Ed White left Upson county. You were justified also in objecting to the sentence in my statement which reads: 'The education of his children and the success of his thrift seem to be the sole offense of the negro.' I have already acknowledged in public my acceptance of Judge Searcy's statement denying the report of his having said that the negro would be put in the chaingang.

retary of war.

The executive declared in a special message sent to both the senate and the house that summary dismissal from the army of men who had enlisted for a longer period than October 1 would seem to involve a repudiation of a moral obligation by the government which would have its effect upon the morale of the army and possibly influence enlistments in the future.

The nature of the modification which might be asked for later was not disclosed nor did the president explain how it was proposed to meet the moral obligation to the men and at the same time carry out the direction of congress to reduce the force by some 70,000 men in the next three months. He did say, however, that "every effort will be made to meet the requirement of congress at the earliest possible day."

Civilians to Go.

Secretary Weeks, in discussing the bill today, said that if the war department succeeded in meeting the limitations imposed by congress some 30,000 civilian employees of

REPORTED "NIGHT RIDING" DENIED

5/3/21
Constitution

Judge and Solicitor-General Ask for Any Evidence of Lawlessness in Taliaferro County.

Emphatically denying that there has been "night-riding" in Taliaferro county; defending the conduct of Sheriff Sturdivant, of that county; requesting Governor Dorsey to furnish any evidence he might have of peonage existing there, and requesting the governor to furnish them the name of the writer of the letter caling attention to "terrible existing conditions," E. D. Shurley, judge of the superior courts of the Toombs circuit, and M. L. Felts, solicitor-general of the Toombs circuit, have addressed an open letter to The Constitution for publication.

The joint authors of the letter point out that "there is no county in Georgia where the officers are more prompt or efficient in apprehending criminals, and in obtaining evidence for their trials, and where the juries are more prompt to convict, whether the defendant be white or black, if the evidence authorizes it."

The letter admits the whipping of a negro on Saturday night, April 23, without the city limits of Crawfordville, but in Taliaferro

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county. The reason advanced for this whipping was that he had used "an oath which no southern white man accepts from any person, white or black." It is pointed out, however, that reports that his head was beaten "into a jelly," are entirely erroneous, and that the negro was not injured.

Letter in Full.

The letter in full follows:

"Governor Hugh M. Dorsey, Atlanta, Ga.—Dear Sir: We beg to acknowledge receipt from you, within the past week, of an unsigned copy of a communication which you write was sent you by a 'prominent citizen' of Taliaferro county, and we particularly note the hope expressed by you in your letters to us that we 'take charge of this situation and bring these people to justice.'

"Since assuming the duties of the offices we hold, we always have done our full duty, whatever it might be, and wherever it was required, and so long as we fill these offices, it shall never be necessary for a request to be made upon us in order to obtain from us a performance of our duty.

"Perhaps, in the stress of your official duties, it did not occur to you that courts cannot act on information given by persons who either write anonymous letters, or insist that their names be not revealed to us, and we, therefore, beg to suggest that the name of the writer of this letter you refer to be furnished to the solicitor-general, that this writer may lay before the next grand jury such information as he may possess.

"We are already familiar with the principal facts of the occurrence to which the writer of your anonymous letter referred. On Saturday night, April 23, without the city limits of Crawfordville, but in Taliaferro county, two men and two boys went to the home of a negro by the name of Oscar Edwards and whipped him. The reason advanced for this whipping of this negro is that he had used to and about these two men and these two boys an oath, one which no southern white man accepts from any person, black or white. They gave this negro a sound thrashing, but did not injure him.

Has Not Lost a Single Day.

"We have had this negro before us, and examined him. He states that he reported for work on the Monday following the occurrence, and has not lost a single day. He has two scratches on his head, each about half an inch long. He states that it hurt while he was being whipped, but he has had no pains since.

"On Monday, April 25, four warrants were sworn out against the four white persons who whipped this negro, and were delivered to the sheriff Monday night. By 10 o'clock a. m. of Tuesday, April 26, the sheriff of Taliaferro county had arrested these two men and two boys, and had them in his custody. The accused waived a preliminary trial, and each bound in the sum of $500 for his appearance to the superior court of Taliaferro county.

"When the superior court of Taliaferro county convenes, these cases will be handled in the usual legal and orderly way, as provided for by the constitution and laws of Georgia, and each of the accused persons, when indicted, shall have a legal and orderly trial in the courthouse—notwithstanding such trials as they have been given by the newspapers.

"We have noticed the newspaper accoutns of this occurrence, which accounts the newspapers state were given out by your office. We cannot refrain from saying that we regard it extremely unfortunate that you, as governor of Georgia, for some reason, possibly a good one, gave the facts set forth in that anonymous letter to you to the press of Georgia, without first making an investigation, or holding the matter in abeyance until it was referred to us for investigation and report.

"The press reports quote your anonymous letter as saying that the head of this negro was beaten 'into a jelly.' We have examined the negro, and that is untrue.

Want the Evidence.

"The press notices state that there is 'night-riding' in Taliaferro county. If you have any evidence of this, we will be glad to receive it, if it is not anonymous, since we do not believe there is a word of truth in the statement.

'One press account refers to this occurrence as a terrible condition of peonage existing in this county. If you ahve any evidence of such conditions, and they constitute violations of any law of Georgia, we will appreciate your furnishing us with it, if it is not anonymous, for we do not believe a word of it.

"The press accounts all quote your anonymous letter as stating that Sheriff Sturdivant failed to perform his duty. The statement of facts set forth above shows absolutely that no officer in Georgia could have handled this matter in a more efficient, prompt and conscientious manner than did Sheriff Sturdivant, and we denounce this attack upon him as unjustified, unwarranted and absolutely baseless.

"We are familiar with conditions in Taliaferro county, and know the character of its citizens. No better people live in Georgia, and they are justly indignant at the aspersions cast upon them, individually and collectively, by this person or persons whom you term a 'prominent citizen,' who are not willing to sign their names to the letters they write, or if signed, are unwilling for the general public to know and identify the authors of such underhand tactics as they use to besmirch the official character of the sheriff, and the other court officers, as well as the citizens generally of that county.

"There is no county in Georgia where the officers are more prompt or efficient in apprehending criminals, an in obtaining evidence for their trials, and where the juries are more prompt to convict, whether the defendant be white or black if the evidence authorizes it. Respectfully, E. T. SHURLEY, Judge Superior Courts, Toomb Circuit.

"M. L. FELTS, Solicitor-General, Toombs Circuit.

"Warrenton, Ga., May 2, 1921."

Dorsey Pamphlet Scored by Judge Of Sumter Court

The Atlanta Constitution

Americus, Ga., May 23.—(Special.) That the pamphlet issued by Governor Dorsey upon alleged mistreatment of the negro in this state is calculated to have a bad effect upon law and those who enforce the law, was the statement today by Judge Littlejohn, of the Sumter superior court, in charging the grand jury. He said that regardless of the merits of the governor's charges in his pamphlet, he didn't think any people ever benefited from "washing their dirty linen before the public."

The grand jury of Sumter superior court did not begin its investigation of the Scarborough murder here today, as had been expected, although Judge Littlejohn referred to the case in his charge, telling the jurors "the public is looking to you to ferret out the facts in the case."

Methodist Minister Takes Issue With Dr. Ridley

Constitution 5/18/21

Rev. Caleb Ridley's article in Monday's Constitution questioning Gov. Dorsey's motive in his recent notable pamphlet is as contemptible to the ministerial profession as it is prejudicial toward the truth. His charge that the governor is attempting by that pamphlet to "feather his nest," politically is characteristic of the shallow thinking of the whole statement.

I never voted for Dorsey before last November; and that was the cause he led then that got my vote.

But I do believe he has the courage of his conviction as to his official duties; I, at least, will not impugn the motive of any public servant whose whole career from youth up has been at least honorable and clean.

Being sworn to execute the laws of the state, and to protect all, the governor only seeks through that pamphlet to let in the light where it is needed; and suggests a remedy for the consideration of the people. He is particularly cautious not to reflect on any law abiding citizen anywhere. Let it be admitted that some of the 135 cases cited by Dorsey's pamphlet are without fact, it remains that the others are true.

How any man, especially a minister, can criticize any honest effort to maintain the bases of common justice for the peace and prosperity of the whole state, calling those who dare promote such effort (even at the cost of their popularity) "misguided," and "soft" heads, is more than I can conceive. However, as for me, I had rather be soft headed in an attempt to right wrong than empty headed in general.

Cowardice takes no meaner form than when might seeks to oppress weakness.

(Rev.) C. S. MARTIN,
Pastor M. E. Church, South.
Newborn, Ga., May 16, 1921.

PASTOR ATTACKS PEONAGE BOOKLET

Constitution 5/16/21.

Governor, Pamphlet and Committee on Inter-Racial Relations Scored in Dr. Ridley's Address.

Governor Hugh Dorsey, the publication of his booklet, "The Negro in Georgia," and the committee on inter-racial relations, were made subjects of a sensational pulpit attack, when they were scored Sunday night by Rev. Caleb A. Ridley, pastor of the Central Baptist church, in a prelude to his regular sermon.

The minister charged that "so far as Governor Dorsey is concerne the pamphlet is pure political bun co. Like a former governor, he ma be anxious to open a New York of fice, and in order to feather his own nest up there he is willing to slander the people and the state that made him governor."

The pastor declared that the governor will not live long enough to undo the "devilment he has done" and remove the disgrace he ha heaped on the people of the state.

Says They Are Misguided.

Paying his respects to the committee on racial relations as the "coterie of misguided men who are responsible for the governor's pamphlet," he asserted that they "seem to feel called of Almighty God to rake and scrape heaven and earth, combing them with a fine-tooth comb, in order to find something with which to boost the criminal negro at the expense of every decent white man in Georgia.

"This is a white man's country," he continued, "was yesterday, is today, and will be forever, and these eloquent divines and philanthropists are doing more harm with their propaganda than all the lynchings and peonage of the years."

At the end of his attack he asked for the opinion of his congregation, and his remarks were indorsed by a standing vote, which was practically unanimous.

In order, he said, not to be misquoted, he had prepared a written manuscript of his address, which is as follows:

Attack on Governor.

"So far as Governor Dorsey is concerned, the pamphlet is pure political bunco. Like a former governor, he may be anxious to open a New York office, and in order to feather his own nest up there, he is willing to slander the people and the state that made him governor.

"In Governor Dorsey's campaign for the office he now holds, he was bitter in his denunciation of the very conduct and principles he now advocates and practices. It is evident to sensible men everywhere that there is a 'nigger in the woodpile.'

"The governor will not live long enough to undo the devilment he has done and remove disgrace he has heaped upon as good people as ever lived on this continent.

"I am glad that Tom Hardwick rings clear on the subject, and that as governor he will answer the charges and insinuations now being circulated with the authority of the state house behind them. And when he sets himself to the holy task I hope he will pay his respects to the coterie of misguided men who are responsibl for the governor's pamphlet, and who seem to feel called of Almighty God to rake and scrape heaven and earth, combing them with a fine tooth comb, in order to find something with which to boost the criminal negro at the expense of every decent white man in Georgia.

"Gone Out of Their Way."

"They have gone out of their way to hobnob with the negro—fill his mind with impossible dreams—put into his mouth inflammatory messages—encouraging him in insolence and lay the foundation for his utter undoing.

"This is a white man's country—was yesterday, is today, and will be forever; and these eloquent divines and philanthropists are doing more harm with their propaganda than all the lynchings and peonage of the years.

"Even a good bishop of the Episcopal church, in his sermon yesterday, took occasion to slap secret organizations that bar the negro from membership, and congratulate himself and his church on maintaining a peculiar relationship to 'this neglected race.' I hope he enjoys the glory of it.

"The secret orders to which he refers have done far more for the protection and uplift of the negro than the good bishop and his church can ever do by preaching equality propaganda. This truth will dawn upon the bishop, the inter-racial committee, and even upon the governor some day.

"Overstepped Bounds."

"By the time this aggregation of self-appointed benefactors get through with Sam Olive, Judge Searcy, Judge Shirley and Tom Hardwick, they will find that they have overstepped all bounds of justice and truth in order to accomplish a pipe dream as thin as common air.

"The people of Georgia resent with hearty hatred the circulation of Dorsey's slanders and published criticisms of certain members of Dorsey's committee.

"It is a known fact—easily established—that right in the very heart of Atlanta there is a church in which the whites and the blacks mix and mingel together, both in work and in worship. The building is a three-story affair, and up to a while ago—and I presume is yet—used in the following fashion: The first floor as a church the second floor as a school for negroes, taught by white women, and the third floor as a dance hall, where the inmates go for recreation.

Refers to Board Meeting.

"These negroes are taught social equality, both by precept and example. No wonder that negro men appearing some months ago before the board of education spoke of Atlanta as sleeping over a smoldering volcano and no wonder these same negro men tell your school board that they are not asking favors, but demanding their rights.

"So sure as the sun shines, if this race-loving committee and our beloved governor keep up their pamphlet writing, card publishing and hobnobbing propaganda—and a few soft-brained church people keep on mixing with and mollycoddling the younger generation of negroes—conditions will grow worse and worse until our mistakes will cost us more to repair than we want to pay.

"I count myself a most loyal friend of the negro race, but I am a white man. Almighty God set boundary lines to our co-operation that I will not and the negro must not pass."

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Race Relations - 1921.

Individual Discussions.

Governor Dorsey's Pamphlet on the Negro in Georgia (Comments on)

DEFEND PAMPHLET ISSUED BY DORSEY

Constitution

Statement Criticising Position Taken by Dr. Ridley Issued by Committee on Church Co-operation

5/24/21

In a statement issued Saturday by the committee on church co-operation Rev. Caleb Ridley was criticised for his stand in the controversy resulting from the publication of the governor's booklet, "The Negro in Georgia." The statement follows:

"The meeting at the Atlanta theater last Saturday night presided over by the Rev. Caleb Ridley, and the action taken Monday morning by the ministers of the Baptist, Presbyterian and Methodist churches of Atlanta, at their separate meetings, made the 'statement as to the negro in Georgia,' recently issued by Governor Dorsey, the all absorbing topic at the last meeting of the committee on church co-operation. The governor has appealed for the application of the principles of Christianity to the race problem.

"The Saturday night meeting condemned the governor and the men who advised him to issue the statement and appeal. Naturally, the ministers at their meeting indorsed the position of the governor, the Baptists and Presbyterians in their action referring to the governor by name, the Methodists condemning lynching and peonage.

Did Not Understand.

"Why the difference between the actions of the meetings Saturday evening and those of Monday morning? The committee feels that the 1,400 men gathered at the Atlanta theater Saturday did not understand the facts. We are confident that no man worthy of the name in Georgia would deliberately deny justice to the humblest negro. Governor Dorsey only appealed for justice.

"But those men at Saturday's meeting will say that the negro gets justice in Georgia and that the governor has slandered the state in saying otherwise. Years ago Henry Grady, speaking of the negro, said:

"'Ruffians have mistreated him, rascals have misled him—but the south with the north protests against injustice to this simple and sincere people.'

"Surely, Henry Grady was not slandering Georgia? Governor Dorsey has said nothing more than did Grady. In the statement, the governor specifically expresses the belief that the mistreatment of the negro is the act of the minority, which the majority of Georgians will condemn. And he calls upon the majority to do what Grady and the governor have said the south would do.

Why Condemn Governor?

"Why, then, has anyone condemned the governor and the men whom he consulted? The reason is clear. For political or other reasons some individual or group of individuals have started the slander that the committee on race relations and the governor are attacking and advocating social equality between the races. They have further said that the publication of the pamphlet has hurt Georgia before the world.

"If any one of these three charges were true, the Auditorium would not have been large enough to hold the meeting of Saturday evening, and someone other than Caleb Ridley would have been called upon to preside.

"For our civilization depends upon white supremacy. And the man, whether he be white or black, who advocated social equality between whites and blacks; the making of a mongrel race, would be unworthy to live. No one, white or black, is suggesting such a thing in Georgia or the south.

"Rather does white supremacy put upon men of our race the duty to sacrifice even life itself to defend the weak, to give justice to the lowest and humblest, and to uphold the majesty of the law. Our civilization does not depend upon brute strength. It rests upon the willingness of the members of the white race to die for these principles which, being eternal, are the foundation of white supremacy.

Help, Not Hinder.

"Only a little thought is needed to convince the gentlemen who attended the meeting at the Atlanta theater that it is wise to help and not hinder the work of such negroes. That thought will, we believe, convince those gentlemen and their chairman, that men whose father fought for the confederacy and struggled through the dark ages of reconstruction, will wisely go out of their way to confer and co-operate with such negroes in matters vital to the welfare of both races.

"As to the misstatement that the publication of the pamphlet has harmed the reputation of Georgia before the world, it is only necessary to point out that for the first time since the war between the states the press of the north and elsewhere has been a unit in praising the stand taken by the state of Georgia with reference to the negro. Hitherto, hideous facts have been published as if the whole state approved. Now it is known and universally approved that Georgia is setting an example to the world in trying intelligently to solve the race problem.

"Surely no follower of Jesus Christ can object to the governor of Georgia appealing to the state and her churches to practice the gospel of justice, mercy and mutual forbearance.

"We believe Atlanta and all Georgia will respond to that appeal."

DORSEY TO REPLY TO SEARCY ATTACK

Constitution 7/11/21

Governor Will Reveal Details in Cases of Alleged Mistreatment of Negroes.

Governor Hugh Dorsey announced Tuesday night that he had carefully read the statement made by Judge William E. Searcy, of the Flint judicial circuit, in which he denied certain charges made by the governor in his booklet entitled "The Negro in Georgia," and that he would make a reply within the next few days.

Judge Searcy's attack on Governor Dorsey was made public Tuesday afternoon. Relative to the cases of cruelty to negroes, lynching and holding them in peonage, the judge declared "as to the cases, this town and county, the officers and people, and the judge of the circuit, they are gratuitous, unwarranted and untrue."

After reading the letter, which was addressed to him, the chief executive stated that he did not wish to engage in a controversy with Judge Searcy, but added that the latter's inference to cases 121 and 123 in the pamphlet is correct.

Inclined to Version.

"I regard Judge Searcy as one of the best judges and most honorable men in the state, and in view of his statement, I am inclined to accept his version," said Governor Dorsey.

"I wish to add, however, that I sent a special investigator to Upson county and the charges contained in my pamphlet are based upon his report. I do not personally vouch for the accuracy of all the charges in my pamphlet, but in this particular case my special investigator furnished me the names of five citizens of the community who gave the information on which his report was based."

The goverenor added that he did not care to go into a discussion of the attack until he had carefully considered it. He stated that he would have a written statement for publication within the next several days. It is understood that he will reveal the names and an account of each unlawful act regarding cases 121 and 123.

Searcy's Letter.

Judge Searcy's statement follows:

Governor Hugh M. Dorsey,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sir:

Averse as I am to controversy of any kind I can not allow to go unchallenged the truthfulness of your "Cases No. 121 and 123, County No. 21" in your "Statement as to the Negro in Georgia," a printed copy of which I have received from the committee on race relations. I assume its circulation is general.

While no names are given either of cases is an outrageous wrong against the people of Upson county, its public officers and the superior court and its judges.

It ought not to be necessary to say to you, since being governor, you should know that the Flint circuit is composed of eight counties, Spalding, Fayette, Henry, Butts, Monroe, Lamar, Pike and Upson, lying in the very heart of Georgia.

I have presided over the courts for six years, being twice elected without opposition, and I know the people. They are intelligent, upright and fearless. And as private citizens and as public officers, they measure up to the highest standard of Christian citizenship and faithful public service.

They are law obeying, law respecting. They are impartial in their treatment of the negro and fair to him.

You should know as governor. If you do not, investigation will convince you.

The people of Upson are this class of people. I can not suffer your slander of them to go unchallenged and undenied. For the facts of these cases I refer you to the approved and agreed brief of evidence. Hon. James S. Howell, former sheriff; Hon. S. S. Lee, present sheriff; Hon. C. S. Bethel, clerk of court, and any county official of Upson county, Attorneys M. H. Sandwich, J. R. Davis, W. Y. Allen, H. D. Womble, Claude Worrill, Solicitor-General E. H. Owen. Any white citizen of The Rock. You perceive I limit the witnesses to the white people, as I do not care to enter the field against you in procuring negro witnesses, which seems to be your fort. I leave this field to you without a rival, so far as I am cerned. Respectfully,

WILLIAM E. H. SEARCY, JR.
Judge Superior Court, Flint Circuit.
May 10, 1921.

GEORGIA GOVERNOR REPLIES TO CRITICS ON LYNCHING REPORT

Refers to Case in Upson County Making Mistreatment Charge

JUDGE IS INDICTED

Governor Declares Chain-Gang Sentence Promised Before Trial of Negro

Montgomery Advertiser 7/13/21

(Associated Press)

ATLANTA, GA., May 12—Governor Dorsey made reply tonight to two of the criticisms directed at him since his publication of a list of 135 alleged cases of mistreatment of negroes in Georgia and declared "the negro has been subjected to mistreatment in Georgia and the time has come to inaugurate a new policy if we are to retain our own self respect and maintain our position as a civilized people before the world."

Since 1885, the governor said, there have been 415 negroes lynched.

The replies were made to Judge E. T. Shurley and Solictor General M. L. Felts of the superior court of Toombs circuit, Warrenton, Ga., and to Judge E. H. Searcy of the superior court of Flint circuit, Grifin, Ga. Both had taken exceptions to statements made in the list issued by the governor and Judge Searcy had declared the charge to which he repiled was not true. This particular charge without giving names had recited the alleged sending of a negro to the chain gang, mistreatment of his family and had declared the superior court judge of that circuit had promised before trial that the negro should go on the chain gang.

In asserting that he recognized the case as that of Ed White, a negro of Upson county Judge Searcy had said to the governor: "You publicly indict the entire state judiciary without inquiring of the judge really referred to as to the truth of the charge."

"The slightest effort on your part," the judge continued, "to discover the truth of these cases would have placed the record (of the court) at your disposal and avoided the slander by you of the judiciary, other public officers and the people of The Rock and Upson counties.

Governor Dorsey in his reply to the judge asserted he had sent a reputable white man "in whom I have every confidence" into Upson county to investigate the case, and that this man had brought reports from half a dozen white merchants and citizens attesting to the good character and high financial standing of the negro. White. One of the reports from a white merchant the governor quoted as follows:

"The treatment of White and his family was perfectly outrageous and a disgrace to Georgia. The whole matter came about through jealousy of White's success. White was innocent, was foully treated and ought to be pardoned. Other citizens, according to the governor's investigator said they could not risk their business fortunes by getting on the negro's side in a controversy with white people of the county. One citizen, according to the investigator's report said that "a certain class of people in Upson county had it in for any negro that was the least prosperous especially White; that they were determined to put him in the chain gang" and added "if it took ten witnesses, they would put them up; if it took 100 they would put up 100, and if it took 1,000 they would put up 1,000.

The governor then declared the investigator's report "gives a detailed account of the shooting up of the negro's home when only his wife and small children were in it," and added the "name of the man who kicked the negro girl in the stomach is before me."

Referring to the charge that Judge Searcy had promised in advance that

Dorsey

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

(From over)

the negro should go to the chain gang the governor said:

"You state that you did not make the remark to the committee which waited upon you, as was reported to the investigator by four of your fellow citizens. I accept your statement as correct, but even when I do this, with the facts reported to me, I cannot modify my conclusion as to the case."

The governor concluded with an appeal to "men of your position and to the press to unite in this effort and to refrain from trying to side-track the question in a controversy in this or any other single case."

In replying to the statement by Judge Shurely and Solicitor Felts, in regard to the alleged whipping of Oscar Edwards, a negro, by a small group of whites, the governor said:

"I should have been derelict in my duty as governor if I had failed to direct your attention specifically to this case as it was reported to me.

"One reason for the statement is that in 1918 Spencer Edwards, a negro in Taliaferro county, appealed for executive clemency. The Atlanta Journal for Monday, March 25, 1918 says:

'The negro was sentenced to be hanged last Friday on a charge of criminal assault. Governor Dorsey granted him a respite until April 26. The lynching took place a few hours after news of the respite reached Crawfordsville.'

"The negro who was lynched had already been condemned to die. The respite for thirty days was granted only in order to give me as governor the time to get the facts of the case, which were wholly unknown to me. If any action has been taken to punish the members of the mob, it has not come to my attention. W. J. Studivant, to whom you refer, I believe, was sheriff at the time.

"You say that the cause of the beating of Oscar Edwards was the use by the negro of an oath, one which no southern white man accepts. I am sure that you will agree with me that the true spirit of the Anglo-Saxon, to which you refer with a pride in which I share calls for the resentment of such an insult at the time when given, and never justifies waiting for the cover of the night to go in a mob, however, small, to beat the giver of the insult.

"Accepting as wholly true the reason advanced for this whipping of this negro,' I am sure that you as sworn officers of the law will agree with me that the law has been violated by these men. As intelligent men, you will further agree with me that the manner of the violation is typical of the causes underlying the 415 cases of lynching which have disgraced our state. x x x No charges of peonage in Taliaferro county have been made by me to the press or elsewhere.

"My letter to you was written not in a spirit of fault-finding or dictation, but in the desire to invoke the aid of you gentlemen, as public officials, in an effort to put a stop to customs and conditions which have brought and which are bringing disgrace upon our state. I am confident that you will join me in this effort."

GOVERNOR SENT SECOND LETTER BY JUDGE SEARCY

Constitution 5/14/21.

Governor Hugh M. Dorsey announced Friday night that he had not received Judge W. E. H. Searcy's second letter attacking his policy in publishing his booklet on "The Negro in Georgia," and could not outline what action he would take on the matter until the communication had arrived.

The governor replied to Judge Searcy's first attack Friday morning, and the judge, who resides at Griffin, sent him the following letter, sending its text to the Atlanta newspapers:

"Griffin, Ga., May 13, 1921.

"Governor Hugh M. Dorsey, State Capitol, Atlanta, Ga.

"Before answering your letter to me, again indicting your state and its courts and people, I demand as a matter of right, to say nothing of fair play and justice, the names of your investigators and of the four citizens who stated a committee waited on me and obtained a promise of a chain-gang sentence from me in advance of trial of those whom you say stated the trial of White was a fake and a travesty of justice.

"Secret bucket letter attacks on Georgia, her people, officers and courts must stop. Either these things are true or they are contemptible, cowardly lies. Those interested and the people are entitled to the facts and witnesses. Let us have them.

"WILLIAM E. H. SEARCY, JR.,
"Judge Flint Superior Court."

GOVERNOR TO ANSWER JUDGE SEARCY SOON

Constitution 5/15/21

Governor Hugh M. Dorsey announced Monday night that he will reply this week to Judge W. E. H. Searcy's latest attack on him for publishing the booklet, "The Negro in Georgia." He is now engaged in the preparation of his statement, and, it is understood, it will be made public either Tuesday afternoon or Wednesday morning.

While the chief executive has given no intimation of the nature of his reply, it is believed he will declare, as he did at the time the booklet was published, that he issued the pamphlet not as an indictment of the state, but to call the people's concentrated attention to thase particular classes of alleged crimes.

Maintaining this position, the governor will then cite Judge Searcy, and possibly others of his attackers, to the fact that he, and not the chief executive, construed the booklet as a blanket indictment of the state.

There was considerable conjecture Monday night as to whether the governor will make public the names of those from whom he obtained a large amount of the information contained in the pamphlet.

It is generally believed that he will disclose several original sources of his information. These, it is understood, will be parties who do not object to the action.

Dorsey Defends Negro Pamphlet

Georgia Governor Replies to Critics

Declares That Every Case Cited in Report Can Be Verified

N. Y. E. POST
MAY 25, 1921

[Special ... Evening Post]

ATLANTA, May 23.—Gov. Hugh M. Dorsey has issued his reply to State Senator Samuel L. Olive, Judge W. E. H. Searcy, jr., and others who have criticised his recently published and now famous pamphlet on race relations in Georgia.

The Governor does not recede from his position or modify his conclusions as set forth in the pamphlet. He takes the position he took at the outset and reiterates that position, which is that "it is a mistake to suppress the facts, but the part of honesty and wisdom to look them squarely in the face."

It will do no good, he asserts, for the newspapers of Georgia to declare that Georgia is no worse, when it comes to lynching and mob violence, than other sections of the country, "for this is not correct, as our record is exceptionally bad."

So far as the Judges of the Superior Courts of the State are concerned, Gov. Dorsey makes the point that he sent them at once upon its issuance copies of his pamphlet, and cites the fact that Judge Andrew J. Cobb of Athens, a former Superior Court Judge and former Supreme Court Judge, was one of the men to whom he submitted the pamphlet prior to its issuance, and that Judge Cobb approved it and approved of its issuance.

Quoting at length from a letter received by him from another Superior Court Judge, whose name he does not give, the Governor shows that this Judge heartily indorsed the pamphlet after reading it.

Will Help Farm Labor

Replying to Senator Olive's criticism that the pamphlet is calculated to disturb farm labor conditions, Gov. Dorsey said that his main motive, aside from the motive of justice, was the improvement of farm labor conditions, for the reason, as he asserts that hundreds of negroes are fleeing from Georgia farms and two counties have left in them no negroes at all.

"Experience has demonstrated," the Governor pointed out, "that a small minority of lawless people are driving the negroes away by their senseless cruelties, and that the law-abidng class, which are overwhelmingly in the majority, must put a stop to these cruelties."

In this connection, the Governor declared that the cruelties are not confined to farms, and says that recently work on a railroad was stopped because negroes were employed, and a lumber camp was threatened with dynamite because it employed negroes.

As to Judge Searcy of Flint Judicial Circuit, who was very severe in his criticism, Gov. Dorsey's comment is that the Judge has lost his "judicial calm" and that the heated tone of his communications strengthens the Governor's conclusions as to the cases in Judge Searcy's circuit and verifies his judgment as to the wisdom of withholding the names of his informants.

There was not a case cited in the pamphlet, the Governor said in conclusion, which was not supported by a signed letter or report, and this evidence is open to the inspection of judges, solicitors, members of the Legislature, editors, preachers, and other leaders of opinion to whom he appealed. He declared that issuance of the pamphlet was wise, because outside papers are praising Georgia instead of criticising. He closes with the statement that he is confident of a final verdict by the people in support of what he has done.

Constitution 5/15/21 Sunday

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Race Relations — 1921.

Individual Discussions.

Governor Dorsey's Pamphlet on the Negro in Georgia (Comments on)

COMMITTEE BACKS PEONAGE BOOKLET

Leading Georgians, at a Meeting Here Wednesday, Take Responsibility for Publication.

3-26-21 Atlanta Constitution

A fight which is not that of an individual, but of the entire state, was the sentiment voiced at a meeting of more than fifty members of the committee on race relations, held in Atlanta Wednesday, during which these citizens declared that Governor Hugh M. Dorsey consulted them and then placed in their hands his booklet on "The Negro in Georgia," that they decided to publish it, and that they are taking the entire responsibility for the act.

The meeting was called Monday by Judge Audrew J. Cobb, Dr. M. Ashby Jones, John J. Eagan and Marvin Underwood. At the beginning of the session Wednesday, which continued throughout the day, it was stated that it was the purpose of the citizens to discuss and consider impartially both sides of the controversy resulting from publication of the governor's pamphlet.

Governor Dorsey did not attend the conference.

Dr. Jones Presides.

Dr. Jones presided, and practically every citizen present entered into the discussion of the question. One of the committeemen stated after the meeting that the members alone were responsible for the publication of the booklet; that the chief executive had consulted them, and they had decided to have the resume of conditions published.

It was the consensus of opinion of those present that the public should be acquainted with the fact that no single individual was responsible for the publication. A formal statement is being prepared for the public, it was stated, and will be released within the next several days. This statement, it is understood, will support the booklet and ask the co-operation of all Georgians.

Present at Conference.

Among those present at the conference were:

Judge Samuel B. Adams, Savannah; Dr. W. W. Alexander, Atlanta; Victor Allen Buford; Theodore E. Atkinson, Newnan; Judge William H. Barrett, Augusta; William Bradford, Cedartown; Rev. L. O. Bricker, pastor First Christian church, Atlanta; Mrs. B. M. Boykin, Atlanta; Elliott Cheatham, Atlanta; Mrs. Elliott Cheatham, Atlanta; Judge Andrew J. Cobb, Athens, Harry Curtis, Macon; Dr. Charles W. Daniel, pastor First Baptist church, Atlanta; Mrs. Archibald Davis, Atlanta; Dr. Plato T. Durham, Atlanta; Mrs. Plato T. Durham, Atlanta; John J. Eagan, Atlanta; H. A. Etheridge, Atlanta; James P. Faulkner, Atlanta; Prof. E. Floyd Field, Atlanta; Miss Irma E. Finley, secretary Y. W. C. A., Atlanta; Mrs. Z. I. Fitzpatrick, Madison; Walter B. Hill, Athens; Morton S. Hodgson, Athens; M. M. Jackson, Atlanta; Dr. C. O. Jones, Atlanta; Dr. M. Ashby Jones, pastor Ponce de Leon Baptist church, Atlanta.

Rev. W. P. King, editor Wesleyan Christian Advocate, Decatur; Dr. J. R. McCain, Agnes Scott college, Decatur; John A. Manget, Atlanta; Rabbi David Marx, Atlanta; Mrs. George W. Mathews, Fort Valley; Dr. K. G. Matheson, president Georgia School of Technology, Atlanta; Dr. W. W. Memminger, rector All Saints' church, Atlanta; Jesse R. Mercer, Fitzgerald; F. Roger Miller, secretary chamber of commerce, Macon; James Morton, Atlanta; John B. Moss, Athens; Mrs. W. J. Neel, Cartersville; James B. Nevin, editor The Georgian, Atlanta; L. D. Newton, editor Christian Index, Atlanta; W. L. Phillips, Louisville; D. Turner Quillian, Gainesville; W. Frank Smith, Atlanta; Mrs. W. Frank Smith, Atlanta; Mrs. J. T. Stevenson, Atlanta; Rev. Nath Thompson, Norcross; Marvin L. Thrower, Atlanta; E. M. Underwood, Atlanta; W. Woods White, Atlanta; Dr. C. B. Wilmer, rector St. Luke's Episcopal church Atlanta.

Atlanta Constitution 3-26

In and Around the Capitol

Stanley's Office to Be Attacked—Dorsey Rattles Opponents—Senator Dan Wall Against Motion Picture Censorship.

BY MARION KENDRICK

Commissioner of Commerce and Labor Hal Stanley is one of the statehouse officials upon whom the battle ax of the Hardwick administration will fall, but whether the edge will be sharp enough to do much cutting, is altogether another question, if one is to attach any importance to rumors sifting in and out of the capitol and the Kimball house.

Not so many weeks ago, Governor-elect Thomas W. Hardwick sent forth the word that he would advocate the abolition of a number of boards and other state positions of minor importance, or those offices might be combined with other departments.

And, in his recent McDonough address, the future governor reiterated his policy. In fact, a few of the parties expecting him to direct his fire toward them have come to speak of him as "the abolitionist."

At present the commissioner of commerce and labor doesn't have anything to do but draw a salary of $2,400 a year, collect and collate information and statistics concerning labor, its relation to capital and data on all the various industries and factories of the state.

In addition to these duties, he must make investigations concerning the operation of laws relating to the safety of life and limbs of employees, and see that all are enforced.

He may inquire into the cause of strikes, lockouts and other disagreements between employers and employees, and whenever practical offer his services with a view of bringing about a friendly settlement.

These are a few of the commissioner's duties under the original act and subsequent amendments.

But he is also head of the industrial commission, which administers the workmen's compensation act; the Georgia securities commission and the state historical commission. For his services on these boards, the commissioner receives nothing other than the distinction of being a member.

There's little likelihood of any of these commissions being abolished. Should the office of the commissioner of commerce and labor be dispensed with, however, Mr. Stanley would be left "high and dry," unless given a place in a proposed department which would have the duties of several offices combined. It is doubtful, however, that Mr. Stanley would accept such an office.

So, it is only logical to conclude that the move to abolish the office will be fought. And it will be a fight worth witnessing, for "Little Hal" has a large number of active supporters throughout the state, among whom may be included practically every newspaper in the state.

Governor Hugh M. Dorsey has thrown a bomb in the ranks of his critics. The announcement that he will place before the general assembly the question of racial conditions in Georgia has served to completely demoralize his political opponents, so much so that the leaders are now at loss as to what will be their next step.

It should not be presumed, however, that criticism of the chief executive has ended, for from Washington comes the rumor that Senator Thomas E. Watson is planning to speak in the senate on racial conditions in the state. Governor-elect Hardwick has been in conference with him.

Whether this information is correct, is not known, for the senator has not yet made any open announcement. There is an undeniable sentiment in Georgia that the United States senate is no place for the state's linen to be laundered.

Especially is this true, since it is now an accepted fact that most of the agitation against the governor is finding its source in semi-secret organizations and political aspirants.

Most of Hugh Dorsey's critics have been crying for the allegations in the now-famous pamphlet to be placed before the general assembly. Now that the governor has decided to make this step himself, it will take several days for his opponents to consider a new move.

When the name of the governor's investigator is made public, no few people "will stand up and take notice." Those who happen to know his identity say that he is a man of prominence, and has rendered detailed reports to the chief executive.

In addition to these reports, Adjutant General J. Van Holt Nash and Major McCollum, who investigated conditions in Hall county several months ago, have made an extensive resume of conditions.

"I do not consider that the events of my more or less uneventful life would make interesting historical reading.

"To recount the petty achievements and failures of a common, every-day man, who studied law for a while, but soon concluded that the legal profession would have to get on as best it could without him; who dabbled a little in county politics; who helped run a country bank or two; who attempted, with poor success, to make a fortune in the turpentine industry, and who, throughout, has kept in close touch with his first love, farming—this would make, I fear, a rather colorless narrative."

This is what Senator Dan Wall, of the fifth district, wrote in reply to a letter from The Constitution requesting information of a biographical nature.

No doubt the senator has had a very interesting life—too interesting to recite in a short letter. Just the little glimpse he gives is interesting, and reveals a trait of character not often found in senators and other politicians.

But Senator Wall has the following to say about his position on some of the bills which will come up for consideration this summer:

"With reference to motion picture censorship, while I have no doubt but that many pictures now being exhibited are exerting a deleterious influence, yet I am rather skeptical of the success of any attempt to curb that influence by legislative action.

"It may be possible," he continued, "to educate the public to the desired moral standard, but I have never come to believe that morals can be legislated into an individual or a people, and it seems to me that in the main, such laws have failed to correct the evils at which they were aimed.

"Moreover, to delegate to a small number of citizens the authority to determine what sort of amusements the rest of us shall enjoy, is, I believe, undemocratic and repugnant the spirit of a liberty-loving people."

Discussing the budget system, the senator said he was one of its advocates.

"As I view it, possibly nothing in our state is more sadly deficient than the lack of good, approved business methods in the administration of its affairs.

"I believe that the judiciary should be kept as free as possible from influences that tend in any wise to disturb the rendering of unbiased and impartial decisions," he continued.

"I would, therefore, favor a law providing that superior court judges shall rotate in holding terms of the courts in all circuits of the state. In other words, that at the end of each year, the chief justice of the supreme court, or the presiding associate justice, shall make the assignment of superior court judges for the whole of the succeeding year, in such an order as will affect a constant interchange of circuits."

The senator stated that he was in favor of a law giving every county the right to place its officials on a salary, provided the majority of voters so desired.

Constitution 3-14-21

A resolution lauding Governor Dorsey for his stand against peonage in the state of Georgia was agreed upon Tuesday by the executive committee of the Christian council of Atlanta.

The resolution was signed by the following members:

Rev. Charles W. Daniel, Rev. Charles O. Jones, John J. Eagan, Rev. C. B. Wilmer, M. L. Thrower, Philip M. Colbert, L. E. Rogers, H. A. Etheridge, J. V. Wellborn, Rev. R. O. Flinn, Rev. L. O. Bricker, Rev. W. W. Memminger, M. M. Davies, W. W. Orr, W. H. LaPrade, Jr., W. W. Alexander, Rev. Plato T. Durham, John A. Manget, C. A. Titus, Floyd Fields, Rev. M. Ashby Jones, K. G. Matheson, Rev. J. S. Lyons, Rev. B. D. Lacy, Jr., Rev. H. A. Porter, M. M. Jackson, R. F. Kirkpatrick, Philip Weltner, E. M. Underwood, Rev. W. H. Major, James Morton.

The statement follows:

"We, the members of the executive committee of the Christian council of Atlanta, desire to publicly express to Governor Hugh Dorsey our sincere thanks for his unselfish and fearless exposure of the unjust and cruel treatment of negroes by the lawless element in many sections of our state.

"The truth of the picture which he has presented in his published pamphlet has been challenged. After a most careful examination by members of our committee of the testimony supporting these cases, and many others not published, we are convinced that the deplorable condition which he described is not in the least exaggerated.

"Many good people are inclined to condemn the publication of this gruesome story on the ground that these atrocious deeds are the acts of a small minority of our citizenship, and that this publicity advertises the entire citizenship as particeps criminis. We wish to register our profound conviction that no people have ever yet been hurt by their readiness to expose to the sunlight of public condemnation the evil in their midst, but that on the other hand should we longer shut our eyes to these horrible expressions of barbaric lawlessness, or seek to conceal them from the world, we should, indeed, become parties to the crimes.

"But it seems necessary to bring to the attention of our people the fact that this story which the governor has published is not a new story. Its novelty only consists in the method by which he has gathered symptomatic and significant instances, and focused the attention of the people of our state upon them. It is already a matter of undisputed record that 415 lynchings of negroes have occurred in Georgia since 1885 and not one member of these mobs has been punished. The world already knows this record, and the additional facts of the burning of negro churches and lodges, and of the expulsion of negroes from entire counties and neighborhoods. The really new revelation now being made to the world is that a governor of Georgia, backed by reputable and representative citizens from all over the state, is willing to publicly condemn these acts, and call upon the righteous, law-abiding citizenship of the state, which is in an overwhelming majority, to put an end to such lawlessness. Anyone who has glimpsed the leading dailies of America in the past few days will find that this course of Governor Dorsey has brought to our beloved state the most favorable commendation which we have received in a decade.

"Therefore, this committee calls upon all good citizens, irrespective of political or religious alignments, to give their heartiest support to our governor in this effort to clear the honor and the fair name of Georgia."

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

STATE MUST FACE ISSUE, SAYS HAM

Atlanta Constitution
5-23-21

'Gets Us Nowhere to Cry, 'That Isn't So,'" Asserts the Pastor in Discussing Peonage Causes.

"Criticism of the method of peonage exposure in Georgia will not cure the situation. The time has come for Georgia to face her judgment," declared Rev. John W. Ham in a prelude to his sermon Sunday night at the Baptist tabernacle. "Peonage within the law versus peonage without the law," was his subject.

The pastor attacked the flogging of prisoners on the chaingang as a form of peonage within the law, and laid responsibility for much of the lawlessness in the state at the door of the fee system.

He asserted that the law of of cause and effect was never more in evidence than in the present discovery of peonage and cruelty in Georgia. "We have nobody to blame but ourselves," he said. "For a century we have been practicing with legal sanction the very cruelties that we are now condemning in the individuals. We have been doing within the law what we now condemn without the law. We have beaten, flogged unmercifully and killed men on our chaingangs who were more helpless than the most flagrant case of peonage yet cited."

Could Employ Same Methods.

The practice, the minister said, has been teaching all these years certain individuals that they could employ the same methods and get away with it, "because county commissioners and mule driver bosses were getting away with it."

"We have ourselves to blame as a state; we are aiding and abetting the whole process," he continued. "It gets us nowhere to cry 'that isn't so,' or 'the indictment is too broad.' The facts stare us in the face. Over 400 lynchings to our credit and no punishment of the guilty.

"Efforts to inject a racial issue in this particular species of lawlessness and cruelty is for the sole purpose of beclouding the moral issue involved. Inflammatory remarks of this character will serve to hinder the moral progress of the state and securing of the wholesome respect of the law."

Mr. Ham's Sermon.

His prelude follows:

The text of the evening is the cry of evil against the program of righteousness, as recorded in the first chapter of Mark's gospel. This cry, "Let us alone," has not changed in two thousand years. Wherever the conscience of a community has exposed evil and commanded it to come out of its inhabitants, resistance has been offered and the cry, "Let us alone," has been heard.

This opposition did not deter Christ and should not alter the determination of His followers to rid the community of injustice, barbarity, cruelty and lawlessness. Georgia has from time immemorial been sowing the wind. She is now reaping the whirlwind.

We have been shocked by exposures of peonage without the law. The barbarities and cruelties practiced by certain individuals on a salary commensurate with services rendered. When we begin to call for a change, greed and selfishness begin to cry out, "Let us alone. You interfere with our revenue." This is exactly what the owners of the hogs said when they came out and found their hogs had committed suicide. When Jesus gave the demons leave to go in the hogs, they said to Christ, 'Leave our coasts; you interfere with our revenue." You kill the snake when you abolish the fee system.

Privileged interests do not want reforms if it touches the pocketbook. Sin, whether corporate or individual, has always cried, 'Let us alone."

Stamp Out Judicial Iniquity.

We are never going to check lawlessness and stamp out barbarism until we rise up and by acts of legislation stamp out the iniquity in our judicial system. The whole system is fundamentally wrong. When individuals observe that we are barbarians within the law in the treatment of our criminals and our court officials are operating for "cumshaw," they came to the conclusion that with a sufficient amount of political pull they can share in the "cumshaw" and practice barbarism, so they go to it.

We have ourselves to blame as a state; we are aiding and abetting the whole process. It gets us nowhere to cry, "That isn't so," or "The indictment is too broad." The facts stare us in the face: More than 400 lynchings to our credit and no punishment of the guilty.

Efforts to inject a racial issue in this particular species of lawlessness and cruelty are for the sole purpose of beclouding the great big moral issue involved. Inflammatory remarks of this character will serve to hinder the moral progress of the state and securing of a wholesome respect for law.

Keep Cool Heads.

We owe it to ourselves and the future welfare of our state to keep from being swept into currents of passion and prejudice that blind us to great moral principles. It is no time to make wild statements or follow hysterical leadership.

A swollen stream will sometimes get out of its banks and sweep trash and debris before it. A great service is rendered even though it went beyond its bounds. Often great moral issues are presented by methods that do not meet with the approval of all, but when the swollen stream of disapproval has passed the net result has been to cleanse the body politic. During the cleansing process there will oft' be heard the cry of the evil spirits, "Let us alone," but let us keep steadily to the moral issues, free from passion and prejudice and remove the cancer of lawlessness, lynchings, cruelties and barbarities within and without the law.

The law-making body of our state has the most solemn responsibility on it for the coming session that it has faced in a decade. It is in their power to correct much of the evil now in the saddle in our state. We do not need interference or advice from sections beyond our state line. We have the enlightened conscience and the courage sufficiently to do it.

CONDITIONS TOLD IN NEGRO BOOKLET DO EXIST, HE SAYS

Alexander Declares He Feels Bound by Conscience to Help Uphold Governor's Hands.

Constitution

MAKES SENSATIONAL CHARGE IN STATEMENT

6-27-21

Negroes Killed and Left to Public Gaze on Highways and No Action Taken, He Declares.

Strongly defending Governor Hugh M. Dorsey's position in the peonage situation in Georgia, United States District Attorney Hooper Alexander issued a statement Thursday declaring that conditions described in the governor's pamphlet really do exist in Georgia and offering to furnish names of witnesses who will testify in a number of cases not even listed by the governor. Mr. Alexander said he felt it his duty, as a citizen and official, to do what he can to uphold the hands of the governor and declared it concerns the honor of all the people of the state to correct the evils that exist.

"The laws of the state of Georgia are violated and defied in cruel treatment of negroes with a frequency that warrants inquiry and demands correction," the district attorney asserted.

Going into the situation, Mr. Alexander said he has evidence before him in many additional cases of such cruelty which have never been mentioned by the governor.

Sensational Charges.

"Negroes have been killed on the public highways and their bodies left exposed to the public gaze, and though their slayers are known, no action has been taken to hale them before a jury," the district attorney stated.

Taking up a stack of papers on his desk, Mr. Alexander read many excerpts from new cases which have been brought to his attention for action before the federal grand jury and which he will present before that body at an early session.

"I have never been allied with Governor Dorsey personally or in politics," the district attorney stated. "Often I have been in positions of opposition to him. But as a citizen of this state, when I see any man she has chosen as her governor trying to sustain her laws and uphold the honor of her people, I feel bound in conscience, no matter what my relations to him may have been, to do my small part to up hold his hands."

Alexander's Statement.

Following is Mr. Alexander's statement:

"I have read Governor Dorsey's pamphlet very carefully. I fail to find where he made in it any charge against the state or the people of Georgia, or that he has appealed in any way to any outside power or influence. It was prepared for and laid before a conference of Georgia citizens, assembled at his suggestion, to consider the numerous complaints brought to his attention in which negroes were alleged to have been mistreated in violation of the laws of the state of which he is governor. He verbally stated to the meeting that very few prosecutions had resulted; that so large a measure of the sovereign power is, under our state constitution, delegated directly to the counties and their officers as to make it difficult, if not impossible for the governor to take effective action for the protection f the victims or the enforcement of law; and, both verbally and in the pamphlet, he indicated his wish that he citizens would consider this situation and advise him what to do. He was careful to say, and I see no reason to doubt his sincerity, that the investigation should be made by Georgians and not by outsiders, and that the suggestion of remedies should come from the same source.

Remedial Steps.

"There are some things that have been said by the governor in the premises with which I do not entirely agree, particularly as to the measures which he thinks will remedy the evil. I am equally doubtful as to some of the remedial steps proposed by some citizens who attended the conference.

"But I cannot remain entirely silent on the subject. Some such conditions as moved the governor to speak out, really exist. The laws of the state of Georgia are violated and defied in the cruel treatment of negroes with a frequency that warrants inquiry and demands correction.

"The entire charter and prescription of the governor's duties in the constitution, which he takes a solemn oath to uphold, is laid down in these words: 'He shall take care that the laws are faithfully executed, and shall be a conservator of the peace throughout the state.'

Attitude on Dorsey.

I have never been allied with Governor Dorsey personally or in politics. I have often been in positions of opposition to him. But, as a citizen of the state, when I see any man whom she has chosen as her governor trying to sustain her laws and uphold the honor of her people, I feel bound in conscience, no matter what my relations to him may have been, to do my small part to hold up his hands. The negro is often mistreated by lawless men in Georgia and the enforcement of her laws in such cases is inadequate. I am prepared to furnish the names of witnesses who will testify to the facts in a number of cases Negroes have been killed on the public highways and their bodies left exposed to the public gaze, and, though their slayers are known, no action has been taken to hale them before a jury.

"What is the governor's duty in such a case? He has solemnly sworn on the holy evangelist of Almighty God, and in the presence of the assembled representatives of the people, that he will be a conservator of the peace, and that he will take care that the laws are enforced. Does this oath mean nothing? An absurd governmental system puts upon his soul a solemn responsibility and yet denies him the power to discharge the duty. He cannot instruct the officers, or administer discipline if they disobey his instructions. Therefore, he calls together a number of citizens and lays before them some of the facts that have been represented to him, and says to them in substance, 'You and the balance of the people are my masters. You are equally responsible with me before God and man. These things touch your honor as well as mine. What do you advise me to do?'

Defends Charges.

"Now what else could the governor do? Resolve me that.

"Ah, but men say that the things charged are untrue. How do they know? The governor did not manufacture the charges. To say that he was moved by any impulse of hostility to his state is as unjust as it is unwarranted. It is certain that he had evdience that was convincing to his own mind. I think the facts alleged by him have not even been denied except in one or two cases out of 135. There is at least enough in it to make men consider what has been said, and consider it calmly.

"If these things are true they ought to be corrected. It concerns the honor of all of us to correct them. It is not true that an appeal to the people of Georgia to put a stop to these evils is a reflection on the state and her people. It is the honorable and proper course to take, and if it is not, then, in the name of justice, what is?"

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Individual Discussions

Race Relations – 1921

Governor Dorsey's Pamphlet on the Negro in Georgia (comments on)

N. Y. C. SUN
MAY 16, 1921

DORSEY'S BOOK STIRS GEORGIA

Ku Klux Resents Governor's View of Lynching.

ASSERT HIS STATISTICS ERR

Gov.-Elect Hardwick and Others Say He Slanders State.

ATLANTA, Gas., May 16.—The Ku Klux Klan is night riding and the Guardians of Liberty advocate the impeachment of the Governor "for defaming Georgia's reputation" in the controversy between the friends and enemies of Gov. Hugh Dorsey over the publication of his booklet, "The Negro in Georgia." In it he cites 135 recent cases of alleged peonage, peonage, lynchings or acts of organized or individual cruelty to negroes and suggests remedies.

From Macon comes word of the latest development, a call for a mass meeting of citizens for next Sunday, at which the impeachment of the Governor will be discussed. The local branch of the Guardians of Liberty issued the call, which reads:

"Unless Mr. Dorsey is impeached every Georgian will be particeps criminis in his crime of blackening the character of the fairest mother man ever had, Georgia. No living man will stand by while a villain insults his mother. Georgia, our mother, is being defiled before the world, and by the help of the eternal God he shall answer for it."

Demand Investigators Names.

Demands that Dorsey give the names of his investigators and informants are coming from all sections of the State.

Three attacks on the Governor for his peonage booklet were published locally to-day, one in a speech made by Gov.-elect and former Senator Thomas Hardwick at the centennial celebration of Henry county, a second from Judge William E. H. Searcy of the Flint County Circuit Court, who was the judge in one of the cases Gov. Dorsey mentioned, and the third from Sam L. Oliver, President of the State Senate, next to Dorsey in official power. In all three statements Dorsey was excoriated and his charges declared either false or grossly exaggerated.

"This demonstration here to-day," Mr. Harwick said, "has convinced me that these are not a bad people, ned Georgia a barbarous State, as has been charged. I deny these charges. I brand as an infamous slander on the State these statements that have been sent broadcast over the country."

New Governor to Discuss It.

He promised to take up the charges in detail in his inaugural address.

The case of Ed White, a negro under arrest in Upson, irritates Judge Searcy, who has been demanding the names of the investigators and informants in that case. It is referred to at length in the booklet, the Governor charging that only White's removal from Upson county prevented the lynching.

"The conduct of your investigator and of yourself as Governor of the State beggars my contempt," asserts the Judge.

Olive charges misrepresentation of the facts and winds up by the astsrtion that the only way to bring about a cessation of lynching is by a cessation of attacks on women.

Georgia Citizens Indorse Dorsey's Book on Negroes

Only Two of 135 Cases of Mistreatment Questioned, Statement Asserts; Nine Remedies Are Suggested

N. Y. C. TRIBUNE
Spec MAY 30, 1921

ATLANTA, May 29.—Declaring that Governor Hugh M. Dorsey's booklet, "The Negro in Georgia," was supported by unimpeachable evidence, more than fifty Georgia citizens issued a signed statement to-night in which nine methods of relieving the present situation were advocated. The statement declares that the committee opposes social equality between the races, politicians seeking offices by fanning flames of race prejudice, criminals by their lawless acts bringing condemnation upon Georgia, murder, peonage, night-riding mobs, violation of contracts by laborer or employee, and the propaganda being used to inflame the minds of both whites and blacks with reference to race relations.

"Governor Dorsey has placed before us 135 cases of alleged mistreatment of negroes called to his official attention in the last two years," reads the statement. "Only two of the cases have been seriously questioned. The majority of them are confirmed by letters from sheriffs, the Solicitor General, the report of the adjutant general of the state, and by letters from business men and citizens whose standing cannot be questioned.

Stating that the negro does not and cannot threaten white supremacy, the committee advocates the following methods of relieving the situation: Education of both races, upholding and protecting the purity of both races, enforcement of contracts and the law, immediate arrest of all persons charged with crime, their protection while being held, a speedy and fair trial, and quick punishment of those convicted, separate but decent sanitary and adequate accommodations for both races and removal of causes of friction by conferences between representatives of both races.

Georgia's Governor a Storm Centre

Dorsey Is Showered With Praise and Abuse for His "Black Book" of Negro Persecutions

N. Y. C. POST
MAY 19, 1921

By Glenn C. Quiett

GOV. DORSEY is reaping the whirlwind—the whirlwind which he started when he flung open the pages of his "Black Book" and exposed to an astonished world cases of negro persecution in twenty-six Georgia counties.

Every Georgian is either violently for or violently against the Governor. There is now no middle ground. Abuse and praise are being showered upon him with equal force, but the abuse is receiving more publicity than the praise. Quite apart from the storm of indignation from Georgia people over the shocking conditions exposed in the Governor's book is the tempest which is brewing in the political teapot and which is now hissing merrily.

Aside from a public denunciation of the "Black Book" from Governor-elect Hardwick, the latest and most spectacular hiss is that from Judge W. E. Searcy of the Flint Circuit Court. It typifies the sort of complaint that is general among those who have suffered proddings in a sore spot. The judge read the Governor's statement about Cases 21 to 23 in County 21, in which the alleged facts are, briefly, these: Because a certain negro became "too damned prosperous and biggity" to suit his white neighbor, a man "who can neither read nor write," the neighbor encroached on the negro's farm land. When the negro continued to plough the land claimed by the white he was arrested for trespass and his son and daughters were arrested for resisting an officer. The judge in the case fined the negro $250 and sentenced him to five months on the chain gang, fined the daughters $50 each and the son $100. According to the Governor's report, a committee of citizens had called upon the judge before trial and secured a promise that the negro would be put in the chain gang.

This recital has infuriated Judge Searcy. In a public letter to the Governor he writes: "While no names are given, either of negroes, officers, judge, or county, there are certain facts stated which enable me to identify the negroes as White and his family, the county as Upson County, the little town as The Rock, and the judge as myself." He declares that the alleged facts are untrue and that their publication is an attack upon the entire judiciary of the State and upon the people of Georgia. "The white neighbor to whom you contemptuously refer," says Judge Searcy, "is J. Mart Bevel, a high-toned gentleman, than whom there is no more loyal and honorable citizen. I limit the witnesses in this case to the white people, as I do not care to enter the field against you in procuring negro witnesses, which seems to be your forte. I leave the field to you without a rival so far as I am concerned."

To this the Governor has sent a dignified reply, giving the sources of his information and quoting local business men to the effect that the negro was "not prosecuted, but persecuted," and that "if the negro was sent to the chain gang or fined one cent the courthouses of Georgia ought to be torn down." The investigator adds that certain white people were determined to put the negro in the chain gang: "if it took 10 witnesses to convict him, they would get 10; if it took 100, they would put up 100; if it took 1,000, they would put up 1,000."

In the midst of this political wrangling the inter-racial committee appointed by the Governor is going quietly on with its work, and responsible citizens have taken the stand that if such conditions do exist in Georgia they must be wiped out. The Atlanta *Constitution* sounds a clear note when it says: "The Governor is fighting only for public decency and justice. The public sentiment of the State can be relied upon to give strength to his right arm in the defence of such a position." And the Macon *Telegraph*, while it does not believe that peonage is widespread, declares the present agitation to be a good sign because it marks the first time in the history of Georgia when the people have been so greatly concerned about what other sections thought. It asks for speedy trials of negroes and sure and swift punishment instead of lynchings, and adds: "There are much more important things in life than simply protecting one's reputation, and one of these is guarding one's character."

N Y C LITERARY DIGEST
MAY 14, 1921

GEORGIA DECLARES WAR ON PEONAGE

FURTHER REVELATIONS OF PEONAGE in Georgia, together with numerous instances of negroes lynched, driven out of the county, or subjected to cruel treatment within the past two years, are furnished by the Governor of the State in a pamphlet entitled "The Negro in Georgia." In the booklet Governor Dorsey indirectly mentions the Williams farm, where eleven negroes were murdered, and cites in all 135 cases where negroes have been mistreated by whites. In the opinion of the Macon *Telegraph*, "the Governor has taken a proper and aggressive stand against lawlessness in Georgia; it is now up to the officials of the various counties to exhibit the fearlessness that alone is becoming in such matters." Says Governor Dorsey in his indictment:

"In some counties the negro is being driven out as tho he were a wild beast; in others he is being held as a slave. In other counties no negroes remain. No effort has been made to collect the cases cited. If such an effort were made, I believe the number could be multiplied. In only two of the 135 cases cited is crime against white women involved.

"If the conditions indicated by these charges should continue, both God and man would justly condemn Georgia more severely than God and man have condemned Belgium and Leopold for the Kongo atrocities. But worse than that condemnation would be the continued toleration of such cruelties in Georgia.

"The charges . . . came to me unsolicited. I have withheld the names of counties and individuals because I do not desire to give harmful publicity to these counties, when I am convinced that, even in those counties where the outrages are said to have occurred, the better element regret them. I believe that the better element in those counties and in the whole State, who constitute the majority of our people, will condemn such conditions and take the steps necessary to correct them when they see and realize the staggering total of such cases, which, while seemingly confined to a small minority of our counties, yet bring disgrace and obloquy upon our State as a whole and upon the entire Southern people. The investigation and the suggestion of a remedy should come from Georgians and not from outsiders."

In the past, notes the Asheville (N. C.) *Citizen*, "the difficulty of apprehending mob members has encouraged the barbaric custom of burning or hanging negroes without trial by jury." Georgia, which, according to the 1920 census, has a population of 1,689,114 whites and 1,206,365 negroes, has been responsible for a larger number of lynchings than any other State, we are told. "But when the leading lights of a community are forced to go before juries for leading or aiding mobs bent on private vengeance, these depredations against the law will in time lose much of their glamor," believes *The Citizen*. As an example of "Georgia justice," the Atlanta *Journal* points to "the expedition and orderliness with which the (Williams) 'Death Farm' murder case was carried from indictment to a verdict (of guilty) within little more than a fortnight." In order to stamp out peonage in Georgia, and secure justice for the negro, Governor Dorsey makes these recommendations:

"1. Publicity—namely, the careful gathering and investigation by Georgians, and not by outsiders, of facts as to the treatment of the negro throughout the State and the publication of these facts to the people of Georgia.

"2. An organized campaign by the churches to place in every section of Georgia a sufficient number of Sunday-schools and churches, where, in their separate places of worship, the young and old of both races will learn from suitable teachers the Gospel of justice, mercy, and mutual forbearance for all.

"3. Compulsory education for both races.

"4. The organization of State committees on race relations, one committee composed of leading white citizens, another of leaders among the negroes, and local committees made up in the same manner in each county of the State, the committees to confer together when necessary concerning matters vital to the welfare of both races."

As an indication of the support the Governor is receiving in his campaign, we find in the Macon *Telegraph* that—

"A new aggressiveness has arisen in Georgia—or should it be said a keener conscience?—and many Georgians are of the opinion that a house-cleaning is in order. There are quite a number of folks that reside between the Florida and Tennessee boundaries and betwixt the Chattahoochee River and the Atlantic that came from Missouri—and will have to be shown.

"Every sheriff in every county of Georgia in which unsavory conditions exist, who does not energetically do his duty and stand upon his honor like a he-man, stands indicted of a grave offense indeed—of not keeping faith with the people who have placed upon him the sacred robe of office."

"One thing is absolutely certain: An end must be put to conditions that have existed in Georgia," maintains the Atlanta *Constitution*, and the Birmingham *Age-Herald* agrees that "the State and Federal authorities should not stop until this barbarous practise is broken up. Furthermore, if it prevails in other parts of the South, as is not unlikely, it should be stamped out." "Georgia now has an opportunity to do something for herself, for the South, and for the nation," points out the Nashville *Banner*, "and it is to be expected that she will measure fully up to it." As the Little Rock *Arkansas Democrat* sees it, "Georgia must now purge herself of such shameful conditions, and show the world just how exceptional they are, through the speedy conviction and punishment of every guilty white man."

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

Race Relations – 1921.

Individual Discussions.

Governor Dorsey's Pamphlet on the Negro in Georgia (Comments on)

Georgia Conditions Exactly as Chicago Defender Claimed in 1914

Defender 4/30/21

Basing his material on reliable information furnished him during the past two years, Governor Hugh M. Dorsey has prepared a booklet on "The Negro in Georgia," which deals with lynchings, peonage and the cruelty heaped upon the Race by Southerners living in that state. The governor has mentioned the Williams case, which was tried in Covington, Ga., in which John S. Williams was given a life sentence for the murder of one of the fourteen farm hands killed by his orders to hide the peonage system which existed on his plantation.

Causes Surprise and Comment

At a meting of the Inter-Racial Commitee, held in the Piedmont hotel, Atlanta, Ga., the governor read from his book and went into interesting discussion regarding conditions in the state of Georgia. The reading and the attitude of the governor has caused much comment. Besides coming as a surprise it bore out facts, although names have been omitted, and the real evidence from which the book is written is in the hands of Governor Dorsey.

Cases that outdo the barbariousness of the Belgians in Africa or that of the Germans in Belgium are noted. Events that have either intentionally or unintentionally escaped notice of the various press services throughout the country are outlined. It brings forth the truth to statements made by the Chicago Defender as far back as 1914 in which it said in Georgia and other Southern states lynching and murder ran rife, that the county officials made no attempt to protect prisoners, in most cases giving aid to mobs. Ofttimes stories reproduced in these columns have, owing to their truth, caused this paper to be barred out of certain towns, either by town or city officials or by sheriffs.

The whole report, grewsome as it is, does not cover the misdeeds of other states than Georgia, nor does it make any mention of the untold numbers of murders that happen on the river boats where members of the Race are shoved off or killed and tossed overboard by captain, mates or deck hands while their fellow workmen fail to make any outcry or even to mention it at the next stopping place.

On numbers of occasions compilers of lynching data have disputed our authenticity and have gone so far as to say that such things were impossible, offering as an excuse, if such things did exist, press dispatches would have carried some notice of them. Competitors have disputed our eagle eyed reporters and now comes a report from the very state itself.

During the discussion before the Inter-Racial Committee the governor of Georgia, Hugh M. Dorsey, divided his subject into four parts:

"The Negro Lynched."

"The Negro Held in Peonage."

"The Negro Driven Out by Organized Lawlessness."

"The Negro Subject to Individual Acts of Cruelty."

He cited one hundred and thirty-five specific cases, all of which came unsolicited. The following are some of the cases noted. All the cases have been placed in the hands of the attorney general.

Case No. 1

July, 1919, two white men got drunk, went into a section of town in county where those of Color resided, became abusive and insulting to women. An elderly man came out into the street with his gun to protect the women of his Race. In the shooting that followed one of the white men was killed. The elderly man was placed in jail. The sheriff left him there to go to another place to get a prisoner. The county commissioner, hearing a mob was forming, went to the jail to remove the elderly man to a place of safety, but could not find the key. The mob had the key. They lynched the elderly man.

Case No. 2

October, 1919—A man was taken from a sheriff who was taking him from one county to another and lynched. This man was a school teacher and a preacher. Schools had been closed on account of influenza and the teacher went to work for a farmer. An argument arose over the pay for extra work. The farmer raised an ax to hit the teacher, who in turn raised his gun and fired a load of birdshot at the farmer, which lodged in his back. The teacher fled, but was brought back. A mob formed and the sheriff moved the teacher into another county. The sheriff of the second county started to move the prisoner into another county but allowed himself to be overtaken by the mob and the prisoner lynched. The white man still lives.

Case No. 3

Although no indictment has ever been found, no arrest ever made, a man was tied to a tree and shot to death in January, 1921, the excuse being that he was supposed to have insulted a white girl. These are only a few of the many cases of lynching.

Slavery and Peonage

(a) In 1920 a man on the place of a white farmer in County No. 7 (name withheld) made a crop of two and one-half bales of cotton and two two-horse loads of corn. The crop was turned over to the white farmer, who claimed the man still owed him $118. In September of that year the man ran away to Atlanta, where he was arrested, carried back and placed in jail. A brother of the complaining white farmer made the man's bond and carried him to his farm, where the man worked a week. He escaped and walked to Atlanta, where he was again arrested the day he arrived, February 13, and carried back again. In his presence, this man charges, the white farmer offered to sell him to another white farmer for $55. The whites deny this, but one of them admits that something was said "about paying the expenses of the Atlanta trip." The white man claims he settled with the man when he agreed to work through 1921 for $12.50 a month and board, the farmer agreeing to cancel the debt of $118. The wife of the man, the mother of a girl of 9 years old and a boy, aged 8, confirms her husband's story with the addition that the white farmer knifed her husband while the two were killing hogs because her husband had misunderstood some of the farmer's orders.

(b) Another man worked for the same white farmer in 1920. The farmer claims the man was paid $15 a month and board and that on December 12 the man was presented with a $5 pair of shoes by the farmer. That night the man went away. A warrant for cheating and swindling was issued and the man was brought back. The farmer gave a $50 bond for the man and he agreed (rather than work on the road gang) to work for the farmer seven months for $12.50, according to the white farmer's story. The man claims that last year he was to receive $25 a month, but instead he received two suits of overalls, some work shirts and some shoes. He has received no settlement for last year. He says he knew the shoes were bought for him, but claims he paid the white man $2 before leaving. He went to work for the farmer because he had been threatened with the chain gang if he didn't. He ran away because the farmer had struck him in the face and had threatened him.

Concerning Williams' Case

(e) A man was sentenced to 30 days in the Fulton county chain gang for vagrancy. When he had served enough of his time to pay his fine excepting $5, the son of a farmer in this county paid him out.

With ten other men he was carried to the man's farm, where they were locked up for the night. They were guarded by two armed men of his own Race by day and locked up every night.

The man stayed from February until September 1, when he and another man ran away. They were caught, brought back and whipped. The other one begged to be killed. The white owner shot him. A weight was put upon him. His body was put in a near by pond back of the owner's home.

Fifteen farm hands were working on the place. They were frequently beaten.

(f) Another man was arrested in Atlanta and fined $25 for keeping late hours. The same white man paid the fine in April, 1920, and carried him to the farm to work upon a promise of $40 per month, board and lodging. Three other men were carried there at the same time. He remained for four months, when he escaped. He was caught and carried back, severely whipped and locked up.

He was whipped twice. He claims to have seen another man beaten and then shot by one of his own Race for running away, and at the instance of the white.

Since the investigation, the owner of one of these places has been indicted for killing eleven farm hands on his place. He was convicted and sentenced to imprisonment for life in one of three cases, April 8, 1921.

His three sons were on April 11 indicted for murdering farm hands.

His sons are fugitives.

The murders are alleged to have been committed to conceal the crime of peonage.

DRIVEN OUT BY ORGANIZED LAWLESSNESS

County No. 10

1. A white man in this county received the following notice in January, 1921:

"NOTICE

"To Mr. ....you had better keep Negroes out of this house of yours, if you don't everything you have got will be burned down to the ground.

"beWare and take notice

"NITE Rider. X."

County No. 11

2. Men of Color were being worked on a railroad in this county. A small mob visited the camp in February, 1921. They notified the white foreman and the men that if they continued to work, while white men wanted jobs, they would be mobbed. A number were frightened away. The sheriff of the county protests that there was no danger. This occurred January, 1921.

County No. 12

3. December 31, 1920, a man living in this county was taken from his home and badly beaten.

The same month small coffins gruesomely painted with a skull and cross bones, were left on the porches of two homes where those of Color resided.

County No. 13

4. January, 1921, people in one district of this county were notified that no Negroes would be permitted to remain in that district.

At 2 a. m., January 12, a man living in this district was called from his bed by unknown parties. They asked him if he had made threats against the Ku Klux Klan. He answered "no." He was informed that he would be given until Saturday night to leave the district; that if he did not leave there would probably be war against him. They asked him if he had seen the notice posted on the near by school house and said that notice meant all "n——" must leave, and that they had notified 30 families that night. No Negroes were to be permitted to remain in the district. Firing two shots in the air, the parties left.

The notice reads:

"Notice to the Colored people of.. if you halvent got a job you had better get one at once.

If you are not done gathering your crop you had better finish and settle your accounts.

If you or disposing of your crop you had better be at home by dark if you havent got a lawful excuse for being out. WHITE CAPS."

The same night, the house of another farmer of Color was fired into, the shot striking the ceiling just above the head of the bed. The farmer was out of the house at the time.

The governor sent the sheriff of the county a wire calling attention to the charges against the Ku Klux Klan and saying: "Negroes have been called from their homes, shots fired, threats made to do them physical injury if they had not left by night. I have four affidavits of Negroes who have never been in court and some of whom own their own homes. This is an outrage and I beg that you will go into this district this afternoon and tonight with ample force not only to protect these Negroes, but for the purpose of making such a display as will deter these worthless white people from continuing their campaign of terror."

January 17, the sheriff replied by letter: "Pursuant to your telegram, I have gone to the place directed by you and have made an investigation of the trouble accredited to the Ku Klux Klan, and I find it is the general belief that it is not the Ku Klux Klan, but some lawless element in the community there causing the trouble.

"As best I can find out, the Ku Klux Klan is also conducting an investigation for the purpose of ascertaining who the parties are in order that the law may be vindicated.

"I shall keep in touch with the matter and co-operate with the citizens of the community affected and shall do all within my power to protect the citizens."

The sheriff's letter bears the seal of the Ku Klux Klan, and this indorsement: "Indorsed by Cameron Klan No. 17, Realm of Georgia."

County No. 13

5. A man was killed without excuse, it is said, by a deputy officer in this county in the latter part of 1920. A minister, in preaching the funeral, said that some line of protection for the lives and property of those of Color should be formed. As a result, leading men and women of the Race were ordered to leave the place or suffer the consequences. Most of them left. Some armed themselves and remained. The better element of whites protected them.

INDIVIDUAL ACTS OF CRUELTY

County No. 21

1. Near a small town in this county a man was born 58 or 60 years ago. By work he accumulated a little money with which, ten years later, he bought a farm of 140 acres, where he lived with his wife and 12 children. Three of his daughters were educated. They were school teachers.

A three-room house was on the farm. The farm was well stocked, the man owning in 1919 outright five mules, and having made payments on the purchase of a horse, a cow and thirty-five hogs.

(over)

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

(From over)

During the war with Germany this family bought approximately $1,000 worth of Liberty bonds and thrift stamps. This man headed an organization which raised between $10,000 and $11,000 for Liberty bonds. His work was highly praised by newspapers at the time.

A white man, who can neither read nor write, owns a farm adjoining the farm of the man in question. When the articles praising the man for his war work appeared, the white man remarked: "——'s getting too damned prosperous and biggity for a nigger." Trouble began.

The white man had his land processioned. The man had no representative present. The processioners ran the man's line 25 feet over the line, across a terarce which had been there since this man was a child working the land. The deed given to him covered the land to this terace.

The white man crossed the terrace, drove stakes along the new line and warned the man not to cross the line. The warning was disregarded and he continued to plow to the terrace, as he had been doing since boyhood.

Blacks and whites from the country crowd the town Saturday afternoons. One Saturday, the fall of 1919, the man with his three daughters and son came to town. The town marshal approached him in the street and said: "I have a warrant for you."

He answered: "Mr. ——, what have I done? Read your warrant."

The marshal replied with an oath that he would rather kill "a n——" than read the warrant.

Huns Outhunned

Here the evidence varies. The man had a stick in his hand. Some say that the marshal, who is large and powerful, grabbed the stick and struck him in the face with a pistol, knocking him down. Others state that the man, raising his stick, backed away, when the marshal rushed him to the ground with his pistol. Several other white men rushed upon him and began to choke and beat him.

Two of his daughters started to him. A man kicked one girl in the stomach. The other reached her father and began to wipe the blood from his face. The three were quickly overpowered. The third daughter and the son were caught. All were locked in jail. The girl who was kicked was menstruating. The blow made her deathly sick. She lay in jail moaning and begging that something be done for her and her father, who was bleeding badly from his wounds. The sheriff locked them in and left them without medical attention and ignorant of the charge against them.

Next morning the man learned that his white neighbor had sworn out a warrant against him for trespass. The sheriff refused to tell him what the charge was against his son and daughters. The man employed a lawyer. Then he found that he and his daughters were charged with resisting an officer in the discharge of his duty, his son with carrying a pistol. Only one witness claimed to have seen the pistol. This was the white neighbor, who said that he had seen the son put the pistol in the buggy, while the crowd was on his father. The buggy was searched. The pistol was not found.

Talk of lynching the man and his family caused their removal to another county. A committee of citizens waited upon the judge of the circuit, who informed them, it is charged, that he would put the man in the chain gang, when the case should come up for trial.

The man, his daughters and son were tried in the Superior Court. The father was sentenced to serve 12 months in the chain gang and pay a fine of $250. The girls were fined $50 each. The son was fined $100. The man paid the fines of his children.

The man's smaller children and his wife were in his home, while he was in jail. A mob, led by the town marshal, went to the house, kicked the door and demanded admittance, then shot up the house and went away. This was night.

Next morning the woman and her children fled from her home, never to return.

A friend went by night and removed the live stock belonging to the family, and sold it for them at a great sacrifice. Their crop was a total loss. They will be lynched, it is said, if any of them ever return to their home.

Reputable merchants and bankers in this county unite in giving the man and his family a good character. The son has been offered a loan of $450 by a leading white farmer to pay a note, the holder of which threatened suit during these troubles. A leading white merchant gave the father a line of credit running from $800 to $1,500 a year. One of the best white citizens of the county signed his bond.

The education of his children and the success of his thrift seem to be the sole offense of the man.

County No. 22

2. A white citizen of this county had a boy arrested for failing to comply with his contract to work for him. The boy's defense was he was drafted for service in the army, where he served fifteen months. This service caused him to break the contract.

A successful farmer of Color came to the court house of the county to sign the boy's bond. The accuser was there. When the farmer was signing the bond, which the sheriff said he would accept, the white, declaring "no Negro shall help another Negro to beat me out of my money," shot the farmer twice.

No effort was made to arrest the white man, and the first grand jury REFUSED to indict him. Subsequently he was arrested, indicted and convicted in April, 1920, of "shooting at another." His sentence was 12 months and 6 months in jail or a fine of $300. The farmer recovered from his injuries.

The character of the white is shown by his conviction of rape upon a woman of Color under circumstances so vile that a white jury convicted him and sentenced him to 12 months in the penitentiary in January, 1920.

County No. 23

3. In November, 1920, a preacher was forced at the point of a pistol to enter a motor car. He was carried three miles into the country, stripped, tied to a log and beaten. He was left unconscious. When he recovered consciousness he left the county. He knows the names of those who beat him, but dares not tell for fear of death. The sheriff of the county writes the governor:

"I understand this Negro has been trying to organize the Negro women at ——— not to wash or cook for the white people only for a certain price is the reason he was whipped. I also don't think it would do any good to offer a reward, because we won't be able to convict anybody unless the Negro that got whipped will swear to the parties."

The book contains other cases just as revolting as those just cited, which bring out the fact that missionaries are more needed in the South than in either Japan, China or Africa.

These conditions exist in other states as well as Georgia. They will never be remedied until the Race is given its citizenship granted by the Constitution, which means the abolishment of the Jim Crow cars, the making of lynching a federal crime, punishable by death and giving to the Race the ballot.

Constitution 6/2/21

Herbert Hoover's Paper On Dorsey's Pamphlet And Its Critics

(From the Washington Herald.)

"Georgia, our mother, is being defiled before the world. And by the help of the Eternal God, he shall answer for it!"

This is the grand, eloquent proclamation of the Guardians of Liberty of that state, who would uphold Georgia for its infamy, and by so doing, deny the obvious. They are making it impossible for the friends of that state to believe her people as a whole guiltless of peonage and murder.

If this voices the real opinion of the people of Georgia, she can hope for no friends or apologists outside her boundaries. If Georgia's "god" is that of the German kaiser, she may be sure of a like verdict from all who believe in the Christian God. None who have denounced Gov. Dorsey have denied, let alone disproved, what he has said. None have brought testimony to show that the 136 nameless cases he cited were not true.

He only confirmed what was known. He has been but honest. If Georgia is not also honest; if, rather, she choses to follow demagogues into the muck, she will be overwhelmed by the scorn of all decent, humane people. Georgia's final redemption depends on the repeal of laws that put camauflage slavery. Gov. Dorsey has pointed the way.

Rector Wilmer Shows How State Can Solve Her Own Problems

Constitution 6/2/21

Editor Constitution: It is a curious and yet not altogether unnatural coincidence that one and the same issue of your paper should carry two communications stressing the duty and wisdom of Georgia's dealing with existing conditions herself and apart from federal interference.

Judge Branham takes up the importance of the state's suppressing lynching while E. C. Laird makes the notable suggestion that Georgia should "go straight into the making and enforcement of laws against" peonage.

Both of these are symptoms of an aroused public sentiment. Both appeal to Georgia to clean up house. The object of this letter is simply to back up these appeals and to express the conviction, first, that federal interference would fail in the long run, unless supported by local public opinion, since in the last analysis the juries that would have to indict and convict would be Georgia juries; secondly, that it would do more harm than good, because it would block the growth of the sentiment of justice and law enforcement among our own people, by reason of the antagonism it would arouse, and, thirdly, I feel sure, and never more sure than at this hour, that solution of our various problems is going to be in accordance with the moral sentiments of our people and not at the dictation of demagogues and politicians.

Many years ago the novelist, George W. Cable, wrote an article on "The Silent South." He was referring to the fact that most of the talking and writing was being done by people who were selfish and wicked enough to capitalize the prejudices of some people and even prostitute the high sentiments of others to their own selfish aggrandizement. This hitherto silent south is now speaking and making itself heard throughout the entire nation.

I particularly want to say to our colored friends that in my judgment they will commit a serious blunder if, in this matter of federal legislation, they follow the lead of their northern colored leaders instead of this newly-aroused southern white sentiment.

The northern movement is founded on distrust of the southern white man's sense of justice and on the idea of a forcible settlement of our troubles from the outside. The southern movement is founded on mutual trust and co-operation and on education and religion as the only enduring foundations of civilization.

But, on the other hand, this must be added: If we white people are going to oppose federal legislation on the subject of lynching and other matters, we put ourselves under the most sacred bonds to do justice ourselves. The test is going to come with the state legislature this summer.

The issue is squarely before them. People may squirm all they want to about whether Governor Dorsey's pamphlet is founded on facts, whether these facts ought to have been made known, and all the rest of it. But nobody can dodge this issue: Shall the government be in the hands of the properly constituted authorities or in the hands of irresponsible mobs? Shall every suspect have a fair trial or be murdered on suspicion? Shall crime be dealt with on the principle of private revenge or of public justice? Shall the punishment of crime be cruel and diabolical, copying the spirit of the brute who commits the crime and brutalizing our own people, or shall it be humane and intelligent albeit severe? Shall the proud Anglo-Saxon race, "heir of all the ages, foremost in the files of time," and so forth, throw up the sponge, refuse the task of dealing with crime so as to reduce it, not to speak of the bounden duty that is laid upon us as Christians of lifting up the race that is our responsibility, and say to the lowest elements of the colored race: "We superior ones will stop being wicked when you stop being brutal"? Or shall we prove our moral superiority by bringing to bear upon negro and all other crime, the forces of education and religion and law?

If the people of this state really wish to stop lynching, they can get behind the legislature and have laws passed which have proved effective in other states.

If the legislature fails to take action but one conclusion can be drawn.

On the other hand, if the measures recommended by Governor Dorsey or similar ones are enacted I believe that the lawless elements of this state and their apologists will immediately sit up and take notice and as a result of an aroused public sentiment, made possible, be it noted in passing, by publicity, a change for the better will have begun.

If, in addition to this, Mr. Laird's suggestion is adopted and we ourselves enact legislation similar to that of the federal government against peonage, then we will have set Georgia in a right light before the world, and, what is far more important, will have proved that our ability to solve our own problems is a reality and that our intention so to do is not an empty boast but a serious resolve.

C. B. WILMER.

June 1, 1921.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Race Relations — 1921. Editorials (Tex. & Va.)

Governor Dorsey's Pamphlet on the Negro in Georgia (Comments on)

DALLAS TEX NEWS
MAY 31. 1921

FACING THE TRUTH.

Some weeks ago the whole country was horrified at the cruelty and brutality of the peonage murders in Georgia. Georgia was horrified, too. But the Governor of Georgia didn't stop with horror. He investigated. Furthermore, he collected his data, reduced it to printable form and published it, showing that the "death farm" which aroused public feeling was not alone. The pamphlet by the Governor is entitled "The Negro in Georgia." It and the facts upon which it is based are to be submitted to the forthcoming session of the General Assembly with a program for preventing the recurrence of abuses which are shown to have grown up.

As a result of the Governor's stand in the matter he has been the target of indignation that promises to exceed even that heaped upon the perpetrators of the "death farm" brutalities. The Atlanta Constitution, however, says in a news story that "during the last few days the executive department has received a large number of communications commending the Governor for his action in publishing the booklet." The opposition stirred up by Governor Dorsey is not to be interpreted as an indorsement of the murder of helpless negroes or of peonage, but logically it amounts to little short of that. Of course it is aimed at what is called "protecting the good name of the State." That sort of idea is not peculiar to Georgia. It is found everywhere. When evil is exposed, the impulse of those who follow this idea is to hush it up as quickly as possible. To be sure, Georgia has been shamed, but it is the facts that shame her and not the publication of them. And since publicity is one of the surest ways to do away with the conditions which excite publicity, publishing the facts in a sane yet impartial way is a public service which deserves praise and not condemnation.

As to the authenticity of Governor Dorsey's facts, Hooper Alexander, Federal District Attorney at Atlanta, is quoted as saying: "Negroes have been killed on the public highways and their bodies left exposed to the public gaze, and though their slayers are known, no action has been taken to halt them before a jury." Again he says, referring specifically to the 135 instances cited in the Governor's pamphlet, "There is at least enough in it to make men consider what has been done, and consider it calmly. If these things are true they ought to be corrected. It concerns the honor of all of us to correct them."

The means of correction favored by Governor Dorsey are given by the Atlanta paper as including the following:

Establishing a State constabulary under proper safeguards of authorizing the Governor, upon his own motion, to send members of such force into any county in the State to quell disorder or to protect the life and propety of any citizen.

Imposing a financial penalty upon any county in which a lynching may occur.

Authorizing the Governor of the State to appoint at any time three Judges of the Superior Court to act as a commission to investigate any lynching occurring in any county in the State, and empowering the Governor to remove from office any public official found by such commission to have failed to enforce or uphold the law.

Giving the Governor the discretion and power in any case of mob violence or lynching to authorize and direct any Judge of the Superior Court to draw grand and petit jurors from the State at large for the consideration and trial of such cases, and authorizing the Governor to designate the place at which the trial or trials shall be held.

These measures will perhaps meet with the disapproval of good citizens in some particulars, while doubtless others will hold that the seriousness of the situation demands drastic remedies. But from one conclusion there can be no escape, and that is that the Governor of Georgia is not afraid to face the truth and to meet conditions as he finds them. His attitude shows courage, and he deserves the commendation he has received rather than the abuse which has also been showered upon him.

GALVESTON TEXAS NEWS
MAY 31. 1921

FACING THE TRUTH.

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NEWPORT NEWS VA PRESS
APRIL 30, 1921

GEORGIA'S HOUSE CLEANING

Awakening of Georgia, the State with the record for lynching and recently giving color to the heretofore somewhat nebulous charges of peonage, should be of value not only as ending unconscionable abuses against justice and humanity but as it will tend to clear the South as a whole of the imputation put upon it by the minority that has held Georgia up to scorn. Since the Jasper County scandal and other acts of violence, Governor Dorsey evidently has become enlightened and convinced of the seriousness of the situation, and his recent appointment of a Committee on Racial Relations composed of some of the best men in the State is promise that those guilty of these detestable crimes against poverty and ignorance will be prosecuted and that the majority of law-abiding and right-thinking citizens will hereafter assert themselves for the maintenance of equal justice.

As a whole the South is so kindly disposed toward the negro race; the great majority of its white citizens is so entirely satisfied for it to succeed and pleased when it does so with its help and encouragement, that it has been impossible to credit the wicked charges which race agitators have kept alive against the section. These calumnies are none the less untrue and dangerous because it has happened that in Georgia they have had in isolated instances a spectacular if partial confirmation. It is to be believed, however, that Georgia shares with the South the sense of shock and surprise which the disclosures of racial outbreak have

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(From Over)

brought; and the necessity of cleaning house is so clear that the duty should and no doubt will be thoroughly performed.

Racial conflict and mob violence against the members of a weaker race have not been confined to the South, but the South is chiefly concerned with seeing to it that the symptom is suppressed. The South is and will continue to be the home of the negro. For its own sake and that of its colored inhabitants it owes itself the duty to see that impartial justice shall be erected into a creed and rule of conduct to fit the sentiments of the better classes of people. Georgia holds the center of the stage at present, but its shame should put very Southern State on notice to keep clear of the taint of race violence and to see that there is translated into attitude and practice the real desire by which it is ruled.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

Race Relations — 1921. Editorials (Pa., & Tenn.)

Governor Dorsey's Pamphlet on the Negro in Georgia (Comments on)

PITTSBURG PA TIMES
MAY 23, 1921

Exhibits Patriotism.

While Gov. DORSEY is being subjected to criticism by some Georgians because he has pursued the policy of telling the truth about the lawlessness that has prevailed there in the treatment of Negroes, he is being supported in his course by those who believe that virulent poisons demand radical treatment. He is meeting the fate of one who tells an unpleasant truth. The censure has not caused the Georgia executive to hesitate. By pointing out the enormity of the offenses against the Negroes he hopes to arouse the people to a sense of the shame that has fallen on the state. Since Gov. DORSEY notes that from 1885 to the present time 415 Negroes have been shot, hanged, burned, or drowned by mobs within the borders of the state the solid foundation for the crusade which the Governor is waging is apparent. Even since he made that statement a Negro woman was drowned at the hands of a mob. He merely calls public attention to what is evident from the proof presented—Georgia is not a law-abiding state.

Cancerous tissue may yield only to the knife and the spread of lawlessness is cancerous in its effect on the body politic. The only remedy is excision and that is what the Georgia Governor is trying to do. He should be supported and is by those who hold the correct view of government. Instead of libeling his state he is endeavoring to raise it to a level where it will be respected because it deserves respect. To conceal a festering sore augments the trouble. Peonage and mob rule have no proper place in a free country. Gov. DORSEY recognizes whither the course will lead and he is trying to save his state. There is no higher form of patriotism than turning a commonwealth from a fatal error. Gov. DORSEY may not be a politician but he gives evidence of being a patriot.

MEMPHIS TENN APPEAL
JUNE 27, 1921

Georgia and Lynchings.

The great State of Georgia has received a lot of unenviable notoriety of recent years through the annual publication of lynching statistics in which the state has occupied an all too prominent place. The recent case in which a farmer was tried for the murder of 11 negroes to cover up peonage has caused some bigoted newspapers and some small fry politicians to turn their slanderous tongues upon Georgia and the whole south. Apparently they close their eyes to outbreaks of mob violence in other sections of the country and they seem to regard the mob evil as being peculiarly characteristic of the southland.

But no state of the south should allow her resentment against these slanders to interfere in any way with her plain duty of stamping out mob violence. If we misjudge not his words, Georgia's newly installed governor, Thomas W. Hardwick, was more insistent on the wrong that had been done to Georgia through the slanderous attacks upon her than he was on the necessity of Georgia seeking out every just and honorable means to put an end to lynching and all forms of mob violence. In this respect his speech was in striking contrast to that of the retiring governor, Hugh M. Dorsey, who admitted the lynchings were a problem for the state and who suggested some solutions therefor.

It is only too true that if the states do not make an earnest and concerted effort to stop mob violence, then the federal government will step in and attempt a solution. We are opposed to federal action for the reason that it would be an invasion of the police power of the states and for the more serious reason that, we believe, such action would incite rather than allay racial hatreds and would instigate rather than prevent racial clashes. But the states must prevent the present evil if the greater evil is to be avoided.

We are convinced that the best way to prevent lynchings and racial outbreaks is to prevent their causes. A conference of the governors and the leaders of thought in all activities in the south might be called to devise some means of so handling the particular crime out of which most lynchings grow that there will be no reason for the display of the mob spirit. We believe that if the people were convinced the courts would perform their duties effectively and without delay, then one of the chief causes for lynchings would be removed. But the south will not do its full duty until it makes lynching a crime in fact as well as in law. When law enforcers become more fearless and when it is generally understood that lynchers will be punished, then will the evil industry witness a slump.

But there is one cause of racial hatreds that is beyond the power of the south to control and that can be handled by the federal government alone. There are several publications whose sole aim is to stir up strife and discord between the races. They are a menace to peace and order not only in the south, but in the whole nation as well. If the federal government desires to stop mob violence it might start right here. It could either make such publications conform to the needs of racial peace or else it could prevent their circulation where they are a direct incitement to disorder and violence.

The south desires nothing more ardently than racial harmony, good will and co-operation and the federal government should assist rather than hinder the attainment of this desire.

Tennessee 5/19/21

GEORGIA'S SHAME.

Georgia is having a time to disprove she is tolerating a condition bordering on barbarism. Governor Dorsey filed a complaint showing one hundred and thirty-five distinct gross mistreatments of colored people, and stirred up a hornet's nest for those old hard hearted, negro-hating people to stand. As a result Governor-elect Thomas W. Hardwick and several judges are trying to justify the crimes that have made Georgia famous in a very undesirable way, but the facts are out and the world will know it, however hard a few may try to explain them away. Georgia should hang her head in shame and do everything possible to stamp out these crimes that have given the state such a notorious name. This we think would accomplish much more than these justifying arguments which those that sympathize with the guilty are trying to put up.

NASHVILLE TENN BANNER
JUNE 20, 1921

GEORGIA LYNCHING.

Many American newspapers yesterday morning carried in one column an interview with former Senator Hoke Smith in which he said: "With rare exceptions, the white people of Georgia are law-abiding citizens and treat Negroes just and kindly."

In another column these same papers carried another dispatch from Moultrie, Ga., that reported the burning to death of a convicted Negro criminal.

Despite this apparent contradiction, the Banner believes what former Senator Smith said to be substantially true, but it will be difficult to impress the world outside of the South, in the light of the Moultrie horror, that he was either correct or sincere.

The burning to death of a human being in the eyes of twentieth century civilization is a sickening cruelty—a barbarity offensive in its inherent repulsiveness. That it is done to punish a specially heinous and revolting crime is not held to justify the act of the mob, and the criminal becomes a martyr because of the horror of his punishment.

The people of Georgia and of the South generally must learn that in acts like these they furnish the South's enemies a ground for criticism and censure and a means to work the South great injury.

This Negro criminal had been convicted in a legal trial. His execution would have assuredly followed and would have impressed those who saw and heard of it with the swift justice and power of the law. That would have been wholesome. It could not have been criticised, but the mob dragged the law into the mire, trampled on justice, commited a really fiendish act and afforded an opportunity for the kind of criticism of the people of Georgia that former Senator Hoke Smith was endeavoring to refute.

The white people of Georgia make and administer the laws of the state and they should be scrupulous in holding those laws inviolate.

The laws of Georgia provide against "cruel and unusual punishments;" the people should not thrust this aside by a return to savage practice.

There is a man in jail in Chicago awaiting execution who murdered his young wife and unborn child, and also a stranger, in a devilishly premeditated scheme to rid himself of dependants. Of course he deserves to be executed, but it would be a shocking horror if a mob should burn him at the stake, and the act of the mob would have a terribly demoralizing effect. The people of Georgia could easily see the wrong of such action, and they should recognize the fact that their acts in overthrowing the law have a similar effect on the sensibilities of the outside world.

There is not much disposition to be indulgent with the South in other parts of the country, and a fanatical spirit exists among some classes in respect to race relations in this section that it would be the part of wisdom for the South to negative by giving no excuse for the exercise of such malevolence.

This Georgia mob and all mobs should restrain the outraged feeling that propells them to violence, through reflections on the injury they do themselves and the South, and the opportunity they afford the South's enemies for its destruction.

Further than this, it is a fact painful to confess that the mob spirit and practice of lynching in the South has become disgracefully prevalent and is often without any excuse at all adequate, if, indeed, any manner of excuse, for such offense, could be so described.

The making and execution of the law in the South is in the hands of the whites. Surely it is to their interest to hold the law supreme. And beyond any consideration of that kind, lynchings inevitably do the South incalculable injury in the demonralization they work and the evil advertisement they give it.

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Race Relations - 1921.

Editorials (New York.)

Governor Dorsey's Pamphlet on the Negro in Georgia (comments on)

THE MISTAKE OF GOVERNOR DORSEY!

Governor Dorsey of Georgia in his revelations of her barbarity against her million black citizens before the Bi-Racial Committee only added to the already known foul history of the State. His facts and figures in the one hundred and thirty-five cases of inhuman injustice, cold blooded murder, wanton maltreatment of colored women and children, of lynchings, of peonage and of black people being driven from entire counties only add a touch of authority to the nauseating chapters of "black slavery" and "white man's government" in this Southern inferno. God will mete out retributive and bloody justice to the tens of thousands of fiends which now have Georgia in their grasp. If the Goveror is correct in his accusations of his own race and his own State then he is correct in his prophecy that, "Both God and man would justly condemn Georgia more severely than God and man have condemned Belgium and Leopold for the Congo atrocities." If he is correct that: "In some counties the Negro is being driven out as though he were a wild beast; in others he is being held a slave, in others no Negroes remain," then, as said Abraham Lincoln in 1861: "Every drop of blood drawn by the lash will be repaid with one drawn by the sword" on the dreadful day of reckoning.

Meanwhile what about this great Southern State? Governor Dorsey urges the correction of these barbarities by the barbarians themselves. He urges these remedies: 1. Publicity by Georgians and not by outsiders. 2. An organized church campaign among whites and blacks by Georgians. 3. Compulsory education for both races by Georgians. 4. The organization of Bi-Racial Committees on race relations in every county. 5. The giving by the Legislature to the Governor of Georgia a constabulary and power to protect colored citizens from peonage and lynching and to impose a penalty upon the county where lynching occurs.

This is the mistake that Governor Dorsey makes after the exposure of conditions by the Federal Department of Justice agents: HE MAKES A PLEA OF CONFESSION AND AVOIDANCE. He camouflages his real desire to save the necks and protect the hellish despotism of the white ghouls of Georgia by urging the nation to "keep hands off." His plea is not only the old plea for State but that "the South should be left alone to deal with her own problems." We will be charitabe with Governor Dorsey by simply calling his plea for State rights a mistake. We repeat what we have said for ten years, after several trips throughout the South. Dixie cannot save herself from herself. A savage cannot educate himself if left alone. Nor can he Christianize himself. Nor can he in any other way or degree civilize himself. For generations Georgia and the other far Southern States have been sinking into this slough of intellectual physical and moral despond. Generations of kindly and firm Federal help will alone suffice to enable Georgia and the rest to civilize themselves. To this task the Nation must commit itself and at once. The eating cancer of their savagery is gnawing steadily at the vitals of the Nation. The degenerate South itself will not

TROY N Y EVE RECORD
APRIL 27, 1921

THE GOVERNOR'S TESTIMONY.

Governor Dorsey of Georgia becomes more definite and condemnatory about outrages against negroes in his state. "In some counties," says the Governor in a pamphlet he has written on the subject, "the negro is being driven out as though he were a wild beast; in others he is being held as a slave; in others no negroes remain."

This statement is amplified by descriptions of 135 cases in which negroes were lynched or otherwise mistreated, and, the Governor notes, "in only two of the 135 cases cited was the 'usual crime' against a white woman involved." If conditions in his state should continue as they are, Governor Dorsey considers that Georgia would be condemned by both God and man."

The Governor calls for the suppression of these conditions through the efforts of Georgia alone. But probably that is not sufficient. The very evidence submitted by the Governor indicates that sheriffs, town marshals and other personages have been actuated by their antagonisms to condone the outrages and permit the negroes to suffer. It is well that the federal government has decided to take a hand. A federal grand jury is hearing cases now. The Governor's recommendations might be followed out also, and in fact every state and federal agency should be employed to the utmost to stamp out the terror in Georgia.

NEW YORK CITY TIMES
MAY 17, 1921

Condemned Because He Spoke.

Governor DORSEY'S critics are using an old device to excite indignation against him. They charge him with having done what he explicitly refused in his pamphlet to do—with having accused, that is, all the people of Georgia with practicing, or at least with failing to condemn, such acts as those of which the man WILLIAMS was convicted. He did not say anything of the kind. Instead, he expressed confidence that representative public sentiment in Georgia was against this, as against other forms of lawlessness, and that the people of Georgia only had to know of evils existing in their State to insist on [illegible] much as

their suppression. That is as much as can be said—with truth—for the people of any State, every one of them being more than sufficiently supplied with criminals of all sorts.

What the present foes of Governor DORSEY want, apparently, is the scalp of anybody who reveals, or even hints, that there are bad folk in Georgia, as elsewhere. Hidden sins grieve them, no doubt, but the disclosure of sin fills them with rage. They do not realize that it is the toleration of evil and the denial of its existence that injure the reputation of a State, while that reputation is enhanced when the evil is hunted and abolished.

As one of their demands the critics of

BROOKLYN N.Y EAGLE
MAY 19, 1921

HUGH DORSEY A BRAVE MAN.

Hugh Dorsey, Governor of Georgia, is a brave man. He knew perfectly well when he demanded justice and fair treatment for the negroes of his State that he would arouse a storm of opposition among reactionaries and we assume that he was not surprised when the Hardwick crowd of politicians began to call loudly for his impeachment. They accused him of "slandering" Georgia. Those who answer his charges defend cases of burning human beings to death which the Governor had not mentioned. Dorsey responds:

While I mention only five cases since 1885 mobs in Georgia have shot, hanged, burned or drowned 415 negroes, some of them women. Since these figures were compiled in the last sixty days, a mob has taken a helpless old negro woman from her home and drowned her by night.

Almost as a further justification of the Governor's position on the same day that his response to critics was made public, in Byromville, there was a "race riot" over a tax collection dispute. Six negroes were shot, two of them are dead, one is expected to die. One white man was badly wounded. The sheriff has promptly arrested twenty blacks and no white men. He thus illustrates what the Governor is trying to end.

The whole moral sentiment of the United States ought to be behind Governor Dorsey. We think it is. And we believe also that the best people of his State agree with him that it is time for their Commonwealth to seek the benefits of civilization

NEW YORK CITY TIMES
MAY 20, 1921

Such Charges Easy to Answer.

To the Georgians who denounced Governor DORSEY so bitterly for disclosing the ill-treatment of negroes in that State he has made an immediate and effective reply. As was inevitable, he tells them that, though they have denied everything, they have disproved nothing—that they have not attempted, even, to refute his statements, which was wise in them, as by no possibility could they have done so.

To the charge that he has disgraced his State, the Governor says that the effect of his revelations has been to elicit much praise in other States for one that, instead of concealing its faults, with the inevitable result of perpetuating and aggravating them, has assumed that publicity for evil will be followed in natural course by reformation.

Neither the reputation nor the character of Georgia has suffered from the disclosures which so enraged some of its distinguished but misguided residents. On the contrary, both have profited, or will, as soon as the Georgia negroes are treated exactly as the Governor's critics admit that negroes ought to be treated and as they say the Georgia negroes are treated.

The Governor still fails to make clear why he presented his list of murders and enslavement without names and dates, and the repetition of his claim that thus no section of the State was subjected to "embarrassment" does not increase its reasonableness or validity. On the contrary, the innocent suffered an embarrassment which the guilty escaped, and that doesn't seem to be quite right.

BUFFALO N Y NEWS
MAY 26, 1921

GEORGIA PERTURBED.

Governor Dorsey of Georgia has been subjected to all manner of criticism and censure for his exposure of negro persecution in the state And yet he is not without honor too

The Atlanta Constitution sounds a note of fairness when it says: "The governor is fighting only for public decency and justice. The public sentiment of the state can be relied upon to give strength to his right arm in the defense of such a position."

If conditions in Georgia are as bad as they are represented by Governor Dorsey, he did no more than his duty by exposing them. The agitation over his indictment of officials of 26 counties is a good sign, because it marks a widespread public concern for the good name of the commonwealth. In their present frame of mind the people are likely to bring pressure to bear on public officials to force a return to law and order.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH
PEEL 14

N.Y.C WORLD
APRIL 28, 1921

GEORGIA MAKES PLANS TO CLEAN HOUSE.

The Governor of the State which holds the record for lynchings and in which the new slavery has taken on its most vicious form is the first to come forward voluntarily with plans for the correction of these evils. Georgia is most fortunate in an Executive who is not willing to wait for pressure from the outside, for if peonage and negro oppression are to be wiped out the work must be done from within. Even more encouraging than Gov. Dorsey's programme is the evident readiness of the people of the State to follow his leadership in a thorough community house-cleaning.

An investigation conducted by the State and accompanied by full publicity, a campaign of education which would utilize both schools and churches, and the appointment of mediatory committees to adjust differences between the races should go far toward consolidating public opinion in favor of a square deal for the negro. To put an immediate end to lynching and other injustice Gov. Dorsey suggests in addition a State constabulary to deal with mobs, financial penalties for counties which tolerate lynching and State action when the local authorities fail.

Under such a system everything would depend, of course, on the good faith of the Governor who administered the laws. Gov. Dorsey can be trusted to do everything in his power to remove the blot from the State's name. His successors good faith in this matter lies with the voters o the State; and in the end the State itself and n one official will determine the status of the negro within its boundaries. Present indications are that the regeneration has struck deep enough to assure a lasting reformation. Georgia in seeking to redeem herself is setting an example for every Southern Commonwealth in which lynching and peonage have grown customary and institutional.

N Y C WORLD
MAY 17, 1921

THE REAL DEFILERS.

IF GOV. DORSEY of Georgia is repudiated for his efforts to rid the State of the foul stain of peonage and persecution of negroes it will not mean that he has not the support of the better and decent element in the State.

It will simply mean that the decent element is in the minority. It will also provide the strongest possible argument for the advocates of Federal intervention, national anti-lynching legislation and a renewal of something similar to the "Force Bills" in Southern States.

The true quality of the opposition to Gov. Dorsey is perhaps best indicated by the fact that one of the leaders in the anti-Dorsey movement is the discredited demagogue, Tom Hardwick, Governor-elect.

A manifesto from the so-called "Guardians of Liberty" says, "Georgia—our mother—is being defiled before the world."

This passes as a reason for impeaching a courageous and right-thinking public official.

Georgia is being defiled before the world, but not by Gov. Dorsey. The real defilers are the misnamed Guardians of Liberty who would perpetuate the black stain that now rests on Georgia's record.

N Y C EVE WORLD
MAY 17, 1921

RHETORIC OUT OF GEORGIA.

Gov. Dorsey's courageous effort to end peonage in Georgia by telling the truth about it has been countered, as might have been expected, by a fire-breathing demand for his impeachment, signed, perhaps with unintentional irony, by the "Guardians of Liberty." "Georgia, our mother," runs the appeal, "is being defiled before the world. And by the help of the eternal God he shall answer for it!"

"The conduct of your investigator and you as Governor of the State beggars my contempt," says Judge William Searcey in a similar oratorical mood and with a fine contempt for grammar. Thomas Hardwick, Governor-elect, brands "as an infamous slander on the State these statements that have been sent over the country." Such old-fashioned, simon-pure, flag-flying rhetoric as this derives unmistakably from Tom Watson as the fountain-head and means no more than is usually meant by such verbiage.

The difference between Gov. Dorsey and Gov.-elect Hardwick is simply that the former is an honest man willing to sacrifice himself in order to clean up his community, while the latter is a demagogue willing to snatch at any advantage to cement his hold on his office. Dorsey presented facts in regard to the status of the negro in Georgia, hoping to bring about reforms. The facts were unpleasant. His opponents would howl him down as a traitor to his State's good name. It will be a sad day for Georgia if they succeed.

There is only one remedy for the growing evil of peonage in the South—a conscientious effort on the part of Southern States to eradicate it from within. Such an effort is impossible while responsible citizens obscure the issue with cheap phrases appealing to a cheaper State patriotism.

DEFENSELESS DIXIE

New York Age 6/25/21

An organization to be knowin as the Dixie Defense Committee is being organized with headquarters in the Healey Building a Atlanta, Ga. A call has been issued, signed by Rev. Caleb A Ridley, chairman, and J. O. Wood, general secretary. The call i in the form of a circular letter with an application card for member ship enclosed. The call opens with the following words:

> "The DIXIE DEFENSE COMMITTEE is an organization of citizens, composed of men and women of the South, whose object is to refute the slander and libel and to combat the vicious propaganda that is being circulated throughout the South by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and its affiliated organizations, and any slander or hurtful propaganda from any other source.
>
> "Its immediate and specific purpose is to call upon the masses of real Southerners to lend their influence in the exposure and suppression of such propaganda and to the support of the duly constituted Law Enforcement ficials in the execution of their duty in the fair and impartial enforcement of the law."

The application blank for membership contains the follow ng pledge which members are supposed to subscribe to:

> **"PLEDGE"**
>
> "I have the utmost confidence in the honor and integrity of the Law Enforcement officers of my State, and I hereby pledge my support of same, and to the defense of my State against any form of slander and libel from any source whatsoever."

We suppose the Dixie Defense Committee is being organ ed specifically for the defense of the State of Georgia. Georgi does need be defended i, but it does not need to be defended against the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People or any other organization fighting for the common, legal and citizenship rights of the Negro. What Georgia needs to be defended against are her brutal and bloody practices of peonage and lynching. If the Defense Committee wil undertake to help abolish the men who are fattening on the toil of ignorant Negroes whom they hold in the worst sort of slavery and the degenerate brutes who burn human beings at the stake, they will find there will be no need to defend their state against what they term "slander and hurt ul propaganda."

When the Committee pledged itself "to the support of the duly onstituted law enforcement officials in the execution of their duty nd fair and impartial enforcement of the law," they will find every olored man, woman and child in the United States in absolute greement with them. If, however, the Dixie Defense Committee nstead of trying to clean up Georgia, should devote all of its effort o the suppreession of "propaganda" they will find that they are n for an unending battle.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Race Relation - 1921.

Editorials (New York)

Governor Dorsey's Pamphlet on the Negro in Georgia (Comments on)

N Y C LITERARY DIGEST
JUNE 4, 1921

GOVERNOR DORSEY STIRS UP GEORGIA

GOVERNOR DORSEY, OF GEORGIA, stirred up a hornet's nest when he published a booklet citing 135 cases where negroes have been mistreated by whites, and started his crusade against peonage, which was noticed in these pages on May 14. His successor in office, Governor-elect Hardwick, denies the charges of injustice published in the Dorsey booklet, and "brands as an infamous slander on the State these statements that have been sent broadcast over the country," while Judge Searcy, of the Superior Court of Georgia, appeals to Governor Dorsey to "undo the wrong you have done Georgia and her people." "Giving you credit for your worthy motives and a desire to serve, . . . you have done your State and her institutions and her people greater and more lasting harm than any plague or pestilence could have inflicted upon them," asserts Judge Searcy. The President of the State Senate also charges misrepresentation of the facts, and the Charlotte *Observer* is of the opinion that, while frequent instances of negro persecution can be established, "the public should be inclined to regard the wholesale charges made by the Governor with suspicion." So intense was the feeling against Governor Dorsey by the "Guardians of Liberty," of Georgia, that steps were taken to impeach him, but, as one paper puts it, "this was found to be too large a contract."

The chief fault which Georgian and other Southern papers find is that, in the words of the Savannah *News*, "there has been entirely too much publicity about Georgia's faults, and this publicity is such as to indicate that the State is a lot worse than it is." "That booklet published by the Governor will be used for half a century as an official indictment by the highest officials of the State," complains the Macon *Telegraph*, which calls attention to the fact that "Governor Dorsey has never referred a single case to the United States District Attorney nor brought to his attention any of the evidence or suggestions cited in his pamphlet." Continues *The Telegraph*, which was among the first to back the Governor in his attempt to better conditions in Georgia:

"Could not the Governor have taken up with the officials in each county enumerated in his pamphlet the cases coming to his knowledge and have kept behind these matters until they were thoroughly sifted and tried? Would it not have been a better plan to have included an indictment of the district attorney of the Federal court by citing instances where flagrant law violations had been brought to his attention in which there had been no investigation or prosecution? Would not that have served a better purpose than the course which was pursued?

"Even if all of what the Governor's pamphlet contains were true, the severe condemnation not only by the Governor but by the best element and the press in Georgia has gone a long way in the eyes of the outside world toward atoning for the crimes alleged to have been committed."

President Olive, of the State Senate, next in rank to the Governor since Georgia has no Lieutenant-Governor, challenges the Governor to produce his evidence. In a statement published in the Atlanta *Journal* Senator Olive declares:

"The Governor charges that the negro is held as a slave in some Georgia counties. The charge is untrue, and the Governor can not specify the instances, or prove them by credible testimony.

"It seems that the Governor should have given the State the rights accorded the worst criminal within its borders. Unable to answer veiled charges, Georgia must answer wild conclusions. In any court in Christendom the Governor's indictment would be quashed for insufficiency, but before public opinion the Governor can not be made to conform to rules, and Georgia must take the Governor's arraignment as it is presented. If he has any credible evidence, he should furnish it to the United States District Attorney. Georgia has no jurisdiction over peonage.

"I do not think he has any such evidence. Replying for Georgia, I distinctly deny that peonage exists to any extent, and demand the cases and proof.

"The Governor broadly intimated that certain State courts had unjustly convicted and sentenced negroes. In that case he should have exercised his right and duty to pardon such negroes."

"But, instead of holding indignation meetings and threatening impeachment proceedings, the people of Georgia should fall in behind Governor Dorsey and assist him in ferreting out and punishing every guilty person in the State," thinks the Washington *Star*. "Better to let the light of publicity play over these cases than to damn Dorsey out of hand," agrees the Birmingham (Ala.) *News*. "The first step in a reform is recognition of existing conditions, and Governor Dorsey has made that necessary beginning," declares the Oakland *Tribune*.

The Governor, who says he withheld names and counties from his booklet in order not to bring embrarrasment upon any section of the State, asserts that there was not a case cited which was not supported by a signed letter or report. "He declares unequivocally that issuance of the booklet was wise, because outside papers are praising Georgia instead of criticizing," says an Atlanta dispatch to the New York *Times*. "Georgia is most fortunate in an executive who is not willing to wait for pressure from the outside," believes the New York *World*. "He presented these unpleasant facts regarding the status of the negro in Georgia, hoping to bring about reforms, but it will be impossible for him to succeed while responsible citizens obscure the issue with cheap phrases appealing to a cheaper State patriotism," adds *The World*. As its contemporary, *The Globe*, puts it:

"There has rarely been an investigation of evil conditions in any city or State in America to which objection has not been made on the ground that it injured the community's reputation. Business men sometimes put the case more specifically. They say that exposures keep people away and so reduce or limit the value of real estate and the volume of profitable trading. This is not a race question, for the boodlers of San Francisco and Denver have found shelter under the same commercial egis.

"But suppression never really pays. Georgia will suffer more in the long run from refusing to give publicity to the evils of peonage and other mistreatment of the negro than by publicly setting matters right."

"The whole moral sentiment of the United States is behind Governor Dorsey," thinks the Brooklyn *Eagle*, for, notes the Pittsburgh *Gazette-Times*, "he recognizes that Georgia has a problem to solve and that the world is waiting for the right solution." "No matter what a few hot-headed Georgians may think about him, Governor Dorsey," avers the Birmingham *Age-Herald*, "has won the respect of the nation for his fearlessness in demanding the fullest investigation of conditions which are a reflection on the best people of Georgia and the South." As the Washington *Star* remarks:

"Georgia is one of the original States, and ranks high among her sister commonwealths, old and new. She has contributed to the national life some of the ablest of the men who have conducted national affairs. Her population, in very large measure, is American-born and reared. She is rich and enterprising and has much in the way of reputation to protect."

RHETORIC OUT OF GEORGIA

(From the New York World)

Governor Dorsey's courageous effort to end peonage in Georgia by telling the truth about it has been countered, as might have been expected, by a fire-breathing demand for his impeachment, signed, perhaps with unintentional irony, by the "Guardians of Liberty." "Georgia, our mother," runs the appeal, "is being defiled before the world. And by the help of the eternal God he shall answer for it."

"The conduct of your investigator and you as Governor of the State beggars my contempt," says Judge William Searcy in a similar oratorical mood and with a fine contempt for grammar. Thomas Hardwick, Governor-elect, brands "as an infamous slander on the State these statements that have been sent over the country." Such old-fashioned, simon-pure, flag-flying rhetoric as this derives unmistakably from Tom Watson as the fountain-head and means no more than is usually meant by such verbiage.

The difference between Governor Dorsey and Governor-elect Hardwick is simply that the former is an honest man willing to sacrifice himself in order to clean up his community, while the latter is a demagogue willing to snatch at any advantage to cement his hold on his office. Dorsey presented facts in regard to the status of the Negro in Georgia, hoping to bring about reforms. The facts were unpleasant. His opponents would howl him down as a traitor to his State's good name. It will be a sad day for Georgia if they succeed.

There is only one remedy for the growing evil of peonage in the South—a conscientious effort on the part of Southern States to eradicate it from within. Such an effort is impossible while responsible citizens obscure the issue with cheap phrases appealing to a cheaper State patriotism.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

The American Congo

IN The Independent of April 16 we gave some account of a particular instance of peonage, followed by repeated murder, in Georgia. Since then Governor Dorsey's pamphlet on "The Negro in Georgia" has furnished sad proof that such cases are by no means exceptional. The Governor details 135 cases where negroes have been lynched, murdered, beaten or driven from home by threats during recent months in various counties of the state. Often there was no evidence that the injured negro had been guilty of any fault; more commonly, the cause of the outrage was some quarrel or dispute between the negro and a white man. In only two cases of the 135 was there a white woman involved.

Governor Dorsey declares that in several counties the negroes have been terrorized into wholesale emigration and that in others they were held in peonage which almost amounted to slavery; and that if the conditions known to him were to continue unchecked Georgia would be ranked with the Belgian Congo. He advocated the establishment of a state constabulary to check rural crime, the imposition of a fine on counties in which lynchings occur, the investigation of lynchings by state authority and the removal of negligent officials, the drawing of juries from the state at large, the organization of state commissions on racial relations and the development of education among both races. He stated his belief that injustice and cruelty to the negro was limited to a minority of Georgia counties and to a minority of the white people in those counties, but pointed out that such outrages "bring disgrace and obloquy upon our state as a whole and upon the entire Southern people."

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

Race Relation—1921.

Editorials. (Georgia)

Governor Dorsey's Pamphlet on the Negro in Georgia (Comments on)

Savannah Tribune 7/4

GOVERNOR HUGH M. DORSEY

Governor Dorsey is being "raked over the coals" by certain prominent men throughout the state because of peonage conditions and mob violence his open confession of the horrors of laid at the door of Georgia. There is no attempt to deny or dispute the cases he reports nor even to justify the brutal crimes discovered on hundreds of plantations in the state; neither is there any extenuation of the hundreds of lynchings and burnings of men women and children which have taken place in the state, more here than elsewhere.

Governor Dorsey advocates "pitiless publicity" as a means of bringing an end to this revelry of wrong and blood in the state, as a first remedy. "Let the people know", let the state officials "throw the white light" upon the crimes, the jurisdictions in which they occur, and the officials in whose bailiwicks they are taking place.

What moves the Governor so courageously and militantly now needs not concern us so much. Let us all assume that he is actuated by highest motives of honor and justice, trying to save the state and the civilization, and let the sentiment of the good people, and law-abiding, stand by him and encourage him, in the consciousness of right and justice in the cause.

What seems to worry most of the Governor's critics is that the people outside the state, throughout the nation and beyond the seas, may hear and know how Georgia reeks in blood and how general is oppression and peonage. The northern newspapers have been printing the "news", and Georgia people are chagrinned and humiliated.

What reason can be offered that crimes of such surpassing depravity and brutality should be hid and hushed up? Is not the whole state organization to blame for allowing such hideous and shuddering barbarism?

Let's save the state, even at the expense of advertisement and embarrassment.

Constitution 4/17/21

GOVERNOR'S POSITION.

We publish elsewhere on this page correspondence between Governor Dorsey and officials of the Toombs and Flint judicial circuits, which throws valuable light on the controversy over the lynching and peonage situation in Georgia.

The correspondence speaks for itself.

The governor's course in calling attention to the seriousness of conditions in the state will be approved by public sentiment.

No better proof of this could be advanced than the protest urged by the well-known and highly-esteemed officials who wrote to the governor **to bitterly resent even the inferential suggestion that their respective communities would tolerate such a condition as that of which the governor is seeking to right** by appealing to the conscience of the state.

The governor and every other observant citizen knows that unless lynching and disregard for the law as to peonage are done away with by the state, **the federal government will inevitably intervene to that end!**

All must agree that it will be much better for the state to accomplish this task without outside aid or interference.

That is what the governor is seeking to have done.

The better sentiment of the state is abundantly able to deal with the situation.

It is simply a question as to whether 5 per cent of the people of the state are going to be permitted to run roughshod over the wishes and the welfare of the 95 per cent.

The governor makes it plain that it is not his desire to injure the reputation of any county, town or official; but he wishes only "to awaken the people of Georgia" to what he regards as "a peril overshadowing all others threatening our state," which peril he believes "to be due to a failure upon the part of a majority of our people to appreciate what is taking place, and the staggering sum total of the charges made against us as a people in connection with our treatment of the negro."

It is clear that the governor is fighting only for public decency for law and order and justice!

The public sentiment of the state can be relied upon to give strength to his right arm in the defense of such a position.

The True Conscience Of the Southern People

Constitution 4/21/21

(From the Springfield (Mass.) Republican.)

Governor Dorsey of Georgia has not escaped attack in the frankness of his courageous effort to prevent abuse of the negro. But to the honor of Georgia, he is far from alone in his expression of Georgia's better conscience. Another very notable expression has recently been sent to The Republican in a little pamphlet entitled "Lynching" put out something over a year ago by Joseph B. Cumming, of Augusta, Ga. Major Cumming, now 86, was an actual participant in the events of the war and reconstruction era. He recalls the progress that had been made by the negroes up to the abolition of slavery and of the safety of the southern whites left at home during the war while "the white manhood of the slave states was in their armies at the front." Of abolition and the reconstruction era, he writes:

"The time had come, not only in the Providence of God, but in the natural order of things, when the stupendous anachronism of slavery should cease. . . . Deplorably at this stage of the race's history there occurred events, marked by immeasurable folly and creating a bitter feeling not wholly to die except with those who then lived, and bringing about enmity where friendliness was the natural order of things. The events referred to were the 'reconstruction' legislation of the congress of the United States and the spirit manifested in its enactment.

"To the present writer few things appear more remarkable than the moderation of conduct of the people of the scouth, both white and black under exasperating conditions. As to the latter, it would not have been strange if, endowed as they were by the legislation of congress with a status of legal superiority, and led as they were by unscrupulous men from the north and worthless white men from the south, they had gone to far greater lengths of lawlessness and plundering than they did go. As to the whites, it was wonderful how little of real violence there was in their self-defensive and irrepressible purpose and action to maintain their true status, of which the congress of the United States sought to deprive them."

If this tribute not to one but to both races for their restraint in the period of reconstruction, seems over-idealistic it is to be remembered that Major Cumming was, as he says, an "actual participant." No one who did not participate may easily project himself into the difficulties of that situation. The passage has been quoted to indicate the attitude in which Major Cumming approaches not only the question of lynching but of the present treatment of the negro in the southern courts.

What is needed, according to Major Cumming, is not change in the laws but "change in the administration of the laws and of the spirit in which they are administered." He believes that where negroes are defendants in criminal cases the innocent are acquitted as often as innocent white defendants but that "the guilty negro defendant does not escape as 'often as the guilty white defendant escapes." He adds: "In this there is no injustice to negroes, but disgrace to white people. I am inclined to believe also that in civil cases, involving the property rights of negroes, the law is fairly and impartially administered; but on this point I am not sure. There should be certainty in this respect and all right-minded persons should strive for it."

In expressing his abhorrence of lynching Major Cumming declares, "Certainly it has no value as the deterrent of the crime for which it is most often invoked." "The orderly, deliberate process of the law culminating in a solemn judgment and dreadful execution would," he adds, "be more impressive." He appeals for the development of effective public opinion to prevent lynching and "if there still is failure, then the stern use of the military arm." It is well to remember that the records of not all the northern states are free from lynchings and that in the voices of such men as Governor Dorsey and Major Cumming is expressed the true conscience of the south.

IN A BIG WAY!

Constitution 5/15/21

We present in another column of this page an editorial from The Louisville Courier-Journal, bearing upon conditions in Georgia, as being fairly representative of the editorial comments being made by the newspapers generally throughout the country.

In his stand on this situation Governor Dorsey has done splendid work to clear the good name of this state of the reproaches that have been hurled against it as a result of recent developments within its borders.

Fortunately the governor is not playing politics.

He openly declares that he is **out of politics, expects no political office and would have none.**

The only motive prompting him is his love for Georgia and his interest in its welfare.

How much better it would be if all citizens, who really want to **prevent federal interference in state affairs**, would get together and pull with the governor toward the solution of the problem as a broad question, rather than to quibble over details in the effort to counteract his work by muddying the water.

Heckling the governor and seeking to clear the name of Georgia by demanding that he cite "concrete instances," etc., will do nothing to clear the name of Georgia; for heaven knows, enough "concrete instances" have been proven and admitted to cause every decency-loving Georgian to hang his head in shame!

The thing for all Georgians to do is to look beyond his own immediate doorsteps, look at the situation in the "big way," and do all in his power to help the governor in his broad, constructive effort to protect the good name of the state.

A Change in Georgia

Constitution 5/21/21

(From The Louisville Courier-Journal.)

Perhaps the broad-mindedness and far-sightedness of Hugh M. Dorsey, governor of Georgia, reflects rather than accounts for a change in Georgia's sentiment toward mob violence. That change is striking, and inspiring, to anyone who recalls the range of feeling, between applause and apathy, in Georgia when the convict Frank was taken from the penitentiary, a few years ago, and lynched.

Notoriety seekers in southern states have taken as a rule the other side of the question which has brought Governor Dorsey's attitude into prominence throughout the United States. Pitchfork Ben Tillman repented, recanted and lived many years afterward, dying honored and regretted. Some advocates of outlawry whose pattern and inspiration was Pitchfork Ben in the period of his ferocious ramping lived and died unrepentant.

There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of Governor Dorsey when he calls a conference upon racial relations and includes in his address the following:

"No falser appeal can be made to southern chivalry than that lynching is necessary for the protection of womanhood."

Governor Dorsey shows that of 135 cases of lynching in Georgia two were for criminal assault. To prove that this is not a development of the decade merely he goes back and produces the record of 145 lynchings before 1912 and shows that only five were for attacks upon women. Upon this showing he urges passage

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(From over)

f a law making the county in which a lynching occurs liable financially for the mob crime, and as to the peonage investigations in Jasper and Newton counties revealing lawlessness akin to that of mobs, he says:

"In some counties the negro is being driven out as though he were a wild beast. In others no negroes remain. To me it seems that we stand indicted as a people before the world."

Public opinion is not formed overnight by the utterances of a prominent citizen, but the election of such a man as Governor Dorsey in Georgia is significant and his services can but advance public opinion further in the direction in which it has advanced when a man of his kind could be elected.

Atlanta Constitution
5-13-21

"BOUND IN CONSCIENCE."

A significant, and a much to be commended, contribution to the discussion growing out of the recent public denunciation of lynching, peonage and lawlessness in general in Georgia by Governor Dorsey, is the statement of Federal District Attorney Hooper Alexander, which appeared in the last issue of The Constitution.

The statement is of particular significance in that never at any time in the public career of either has Mr. Alexander been in political sympathy with Governor Dorsey.

The political alignments of these two prominent Georgians have invariably been in diametric opposition.

"But in this instance," says the district attorney, "I feel bound in conscience, no matter what my relations to him have been, to do my small part to uphold his hands!"

There are but two sides to this question: One, in favor of the maintenance of law and order as opposed to mob outlawry and peonage, whether practiced on a large or a small scale; the other a justification of mob violence and a general disregard for law in Georgia!

We do not mean to infer by this that all who have criticised the action of the governor in this instance take the latter position.

And yet, inferentially and unfortunately, they put themselves in a position where those who do assume that attitude may bolster their defiance of law and order by the claim that they have a backing to which they are not entitled for some of those who have taken issue with the governor as to the method of his presentation, certainly agree with him in his plea for law and order.

Unquestionably, there is in Georgia a small element that both condones and participates in the practices denounced by the governor.

Our lynching and court records supply abundant proof of that.

It is no answer to impugn the governor's motive by charging him with political prompting.

If that were true, certainly Hooper Alexander would be the last man in Georgia to line up with him in his plea for law and order.

But the governor has removed all possible doubt on this score by his repeated declaration that he is a candidate for no office, will be a candidate for no office, and would accept no office within the gift of the people.

The incident of the governor's pamphlet, by and large, will have served a wholesome purpose if as a result of it the conscience of the state is aroused to the point where an overwhelming law-abiding majority will not allow the state to be misrepresented and discredited by the few who condone mob law.

Perhaps there have been misunderstanding and misinterpretation on both sides of this discussion—both among those who criticise and among those who indorse the attitude of the governor.

Certainly no decent, law-abiding citizen can defend mob law, and after all, the only thing for which the governor has been contending is the triumph of law and order.

The admirable statement of the federal district attorney gives strength to his right arm in such a cause!

GOLDEN ADVICE.

Constitution 5/31/21

We present elsewhere a significant communication from Judge Joel Branham of Rome with reference to the controversy over Governor Dorsey's much discussed pamphlet.

Judge Branham, for many years judge of the Rome judicial circuit, and for more than half a century universally recognized as being one of Georgia's ablest lawyers, now lives in honorable retirement after a public career that from both a professional and public service standpoint, challenges the admiration of the state.

This is a fitting time for Georgia to take advice from her "elder statesmen;" and certainly no man in Georgia is more worthy to be so characterized than Judge Branham, who bases his communication on the theory that this is a "white man's country" and upon an appeal to the good people of this state to do nothing that will make it otherwise.

He shows convincingly that the surest way to destroy that security is for the state to disregard the essential demands of justice; and he points to the position taken by Governor Dorsey as being a repetition of an oft-repeated cry based upon the warning that if the state fails in its duty to protect even the weakest of its citizens the federal government is bound to step in!

Judge Branham gives golden advice!

The Nation
5/28/21

THE NEW YORK NATION

It was entirely on the cards that Governor Dorsey would get into trouble with his fellow-Georgians by telling the truth about the ghastly conditions in his state. His pamphlet, "The Negro in Georgia," which relates 135 cases of peonage, unpunished lynching of innocent persons, of shameless cruelty, and almost unbelievable brutality, has called down their wrath upon his head. A mass meeting of the "Guardians of Liberty" to consider his impeachment has been called in the following fashion:

Unless Mr. Dorsey is impeached every Georgian will be particeps criminis in his crime of blackening, while history lasts, the character of the fairest mother man ever had—Georgia. No living man will stand by while a villain defiles his mother. Georgia—our mother—is being defiled before the world. And, by the help of the eternal God, he shall answer for it.

Governor Dorsey's offense was that he was both honest and brave, and that his ws the first constructive program offered by a Georgia public official to make his state something other than the plague spot of our American civilization. He proposes new state laws to protect the Negroes and to check violence. If any one doubts that Georgia's savagery is deep-seated let him send for "The Lynchings of May, 1918, in Brooks and Lowndes Counties, Georgia," published in pamphlet form by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and read about the killing of Mary Turner, an innocent woman, in the eighth month of her pregnancy, because she said that if she knew who were the lynchers of her husband—also an innocent man—she would have warrants sworn out for them. It was only when the murders of peons became wholesale that the whole rotten fabric to which The Nation has called attention for years was fully exposed. Now it becomes evident that the dastards who commit these unspeakable crimes are not the ones of whom Georgia wishes to purge herself. The real criminal is the man who faces the truth and thereby casts aspersions on "the fair name of the sovereign state of Georgia."

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Race Relations — 1921.

Editorials (Georgia)

Governor Dorsey's Pamphlet on the Negro in Georgia (comments on)

COMMERCE GA NEWS
APRIL 28. 1921

THE GOVERNOR AND LAWLESSNESS.

Georgia's governor is to be commended for the stand he has taken to prosecute violators of law in this state. The pepole of the state are to be congratulated in that they have in the governors chair a man of strong positive convictions and an official who has the courage of his convictions and who, regardless to opposition and in opposition to the sentiment of some among us has let it be known that violators of law must be punished, when they openly commit fearful crimes in this state. The positive stand Mr. Dorsey took, with reference to certain fearful crimes that have recently been committed in this state, when, regardless of whatever public sentiment he might encounter, he let it be known, that all the influence he could bring to bear would be called into service, to the end that the guilty parties might be apprehended and severely punished for their inhuman treatment, is commendable. And it is evident that the fight is not yet ended, for in conference with certain gentlemen in Atlanta a few days ago, the governor let it be known that insofar as he had either influence or power, as governor of Georgia all who are guilty of certain violations of law would be apprehended and punished, if possible. In tha conference he said:

After charging that evidence had been obtained that murder, peonage, mistreatment of all kinds and ruthless disregard of the rights of negroes was general in at least 26 counties of the State, the governor recommended this program:

Full investigation of conditions by Georgia people with full publicity. This feature was adopted.

An organized camppaign led by all churches in the State, to teach both to negroes and white people, justice, mercy and mutual forbearance. Compulsory education for both races.

The question arises: Are the charges true? Does governor Dorsey know what he is talking about? Is it or not true that "peonage, mistreatment of all kinds, and ruthless disregard of the rights of negroes was general in twenty six counties in this state." That is a fearful charge to bring against the people of his own state, and yet it must be true, for the governor could not afford to make such charges, unless he had the facts to sustain them. And who can object to the program to remedy such conditions offered by the governor. "A full investigation by Georgia people. An organized campaign led by all the churches in the state to teach to negroes and white people, justice mercy and mututal forbearance."

Surely, there are but few people in all this state who are opposed to "justice, mercy and mutual forbearnace." There may be those and in fact there are those who do not favor either compulsory education for either white or black, and there are those who do not favor education of any kind for the negro, but the right kind of education—Christian education, the campaign for which is now being carried forward, all over this continent—that kind of an education is helpful to any human being on the face of the earth.

THE GOOD NAME OF GEORGIA IS AT STAKE.

Atlanta Independent
Atlanta Independent
5/19/21

There is a great controversy going on in this state, with Governor Hugh M. Dorsey on the one side and officials and private indivduals on the other. There is crimination and re-crimination and considerable acrimony has been injected into the dispute.

This has grown out of the great crime wave which has swept over this state within the last few months, resulting in the murder farm in Jasper County, another in Laurens County and peonage cases galore. The Governor brings out a booklet in which he shows 135 cases in which Negroes were murdered, mobbed or otherwise mistreated. The Governor takes the position that these crimes should not be condoned, but should be given the greatest publicity in order that the people of the state may know how much lawlessness has been committed. He contends that most of this has been going on without the knowledge of the best element, and when they are fully apprised of these outrages against colored citizens of the state, that they will rise up in their might and put an end to them.

The men on the other side contend that he is slandering the state and doing the people of Georgia a great injustice. The best people of the state are with the Governor, and are speaking out in no uncertain sound. The Governor deals with facts—he shows the number of lynchings that have taken place within the last few years in this state—far outstriping any other state in the union in mob-violence, murder and peonage. He contends that the only way in which to redeem the good name of the state is to enforce the laws—to institute a thorough investigation and bring the guilty parties to justice and punish them.

Others contend that the Governor is making "a mountain out of a mole hill"—that these are only a few isolated cases—that the state of Georgia is no worse than any other state.

It seems to the Independent that the Governor is right, from the crimes that have been committed—the number of peonage cases reported, the number of murders that have been committed and the number of Negroes that have been ma[illegible] to leave their homes—many of whom have taken refuge here in Atlanta—there can be no doubt but that the Governor is right. The facts bear him out, and the good people of the state, white and black should uphold his hand; and the Independent believes that when it comes to a show down, an overwhelming majority of the people will do so.

As we said in these columns last week:

"The state, like the individual, cannot help itself by suppressing the truth. That peonage and lynching prevail in Georgia in an alarming degree is undeniably true, and for the press or any other agency or individual to undertake to suppress the facts as they now exist will neither stop lawlessness nor redeem the good name of our commonwealth in the estimation of the nation and the world. A plain statement of the facts just as Governor Dorsey and United States District Attorney are presenting and a firm and vigorous application of the law to the root of the evil, is the only remedy—any other course is a delusion and will only postpone the day of terrible retribution. Instead of hiding the truth, we should present the truth and the whole truth; for if the truth makes you free, you are free indeed."

The Governor is doing his sworn duty—that is to execute the laws; and all law-abiding citizens, instead of denouncing him, should commend him and uphold his hand—that is the only way we can redeem the good name of the state of Georgia. It is not the Governor who has slandered the state, but those who have committed the crimes—and the only way its good name can be reclaimed is for all the law-abiding people of every to stand by the Governor in the enforcement of the law and bring the culprits to justice.

No one who knows how affairs are conducted in Georgia will deny that black men and women do not get a square deal in the courts—too often the trial is but a farce, and when the issue is between a white man and a colored man, the Negro has no chance whatever, no matter how much right he may have on his side, the white man's word will go every time; and there can never be equal and even-handed justice as long as one man's word, whatever may be his color, outweighs that of another. We do not believe that the most partial man, white or colored, will deny the fact that a colored man's word counts for very little against that of a white man; and as long as this is the case, there can be no justice—it is merely perfunctory. Those who have attended courts will not deny this for one moment—it is known of all, and that defeats the ends of justice. As long as one class of men, by reason of their race and color, can be heard and credited and the other ignored because of his race and color, there can be no even-handed justice.

The governor offers the solution, and if the people of Georgia—white and black—would redeem the good name of the state and restore her to the high place she held from Colonial times, they would give the governor their undivided support in this great effort to save the good name of our great commonwealth. Instead of criticising and denouncing him—let the more than two million people of this state fall in

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(From over)

line and support him in his great attempt to enforce the law. This is his sworn duty, and he would be less than a governor did he fail to do his duty. Let the laws be enforced and Georgia will be redeemed.

THE RACIAL AGITATION.

Atlanta Journal
6-4-12

(From Wesleyan Christian Advocate)

We have no part in the controversy between Governor H. M. Dorsey and Judge W. E. H. Searcy, Jr. Our regard for each of them is much higher than their regard for each other. The booklet on "The Negro in Georgia," by Governor Dorsey, contained such a serious charge against Judge Searcy until he was within his rights in making a reply. Our sole correction of Judge Searcy would have to do with some closing statements in his communication.

When the Judge says of his judicial circuit and of Upson County that as private citizens and as public officers the citizens measure up to the highest standards of Christian citizenship and faithful public service, and that they are impartial in their treatment of the Negro and fair to him, we are convinced that the affection of Judge Searcy for his people gives him a view entirely too roseate. We naturally suppose that Upson County is not so far superior to other counties, and we know of no county that has entirely reached the high ideal described above. If Upson County had so far outstripped other sections of the state, it would now be a Mecca to which people from every part of the country would go to see the one spot where racial relationship was perfectly adjusted.

It is outside our purpose to enter into any justification or condemnation of the Governor's booklet. It may have been a very serious omission, but the committee who urged the Governor to employ the method which he used did not ask for our counsel. We are not undertaking to solve the mystery as to why our advice has not been more requently sought.

It is highly important that the people of Georgia do not cloud the issue that is before us. There are some facts and figures which may be found in the Governor's statement and elsewhere that have not been refuted. As much as we dislike to believe it, the record of the lynching of 415 Negroes in Georgia since 1885 is probably not exaggerated. This we know, that no lyncher has ever yet been punished by the law. Last year there were 69 lynchings in the United States, 55 Negroes and 14 white people. In four cases it was demonstrated after the lynching that the persons put to death were innocent. More than one-fourth of the total number of lynchings in 1915 occurred in the state of Georgia. Only 15 per cent of the total number lynched were even charged with outrage upon womanhood.

With a record like this we are not surprised at the terror of night riders buning Negro lodge and churches, vandalizing Negro cemeteries and driving Negroes entirely away from some counties. We are not surprised at peonage.

Governor Dorsey makes the charitable estimate that only five per cent of our white population are lawless, while Judge Andrew Cobb mentions three per cent as his estimate. We only wish that we were sure that the per cent is not higher than either figure mentioned.

In a recent Saturday evening meeting in Atlanta, presided over by a preacher and marked by the lowest appeals of political demagoguery, a letter was read from Governor-elect Hardwick containing the following statements:

"In my opinion, the relations between the races are far better in this state than in most of the states from which the most bitter and ignorant criticism of Georgia emanates. Negroes who behave themselves and obey the law have no trouble in Georgia. This is an ideal state for a good Negro, but it doubtless is true that it is not a healthy place for the Negro agitator or for those who either practice or preach social or political equality."

We would like to believe that there are no Georgians so simple or insincere as to try to believe these statements of the governor-elect. No violent accusations emanating outside Georgia can ever reflect any more on the intelligence of the people than the fore-going expressions.

At the very time that Mr. Hardwick affirmed that, "Negroes who behave themselves and obey the law have no trouble in Georgia," a case was pending in the city court of Hall County against four white men for desecrating the graves of several Negroes and demolishing tombstones in a graveyard ten miles north of Gainesville. We suppose that even Mr. Hardwick would admit that a dead Negro is very well-behaved. We are very sure that all our people who favor justice believe that punishment should be given to lawless whites as to lawless Negroes. We would much prefer that the people outside Georgia would make their estimate of the real purpose and spirit of the vast majority of Georgians from the following patriotic utterances:

Judge James B. Park, in his charge to the Newton County grand jury said:

"We have reached the point where, unless the spirit of lawlessness is checked by our courts, juries and the law-abiding people, we will be shunned by the best class of people, and capital will refuse to come among us to develop our natural, our agricultural, manufacturing and commercial enterprises."

Judge Andrew Cobb, of Athens, raises the question:

"The conduct of the few has made the reputation for all. Shall we become partakers of the shame in which we had no part.

"Shall more than ninety-seven per cent of our people stand silently by and allow the lynchers to fix the jurisdiction of the county, leaving to established tribunals only such cases as the lynchers see fit to overlook?

"Shall we permit the small lawless element to fix our reputation? Shall the good name and fame of the state be left in the custody of bandits, blackguards and ruffians? We have the power to prevent it. Will we exercise it?

"Knowledge of existing conditions must be brought to the attention of all by a careful and fair publicity. When the character and extent of the evil is known interest in correction and prevention of recurrence will be aroused."

One among the basest passions of the human heart is race prejudice. And the basest appeal of the low order of politicians is the appeal to race prejudice. But the large element of good people in Georgia will understand the real issue involved.

Our population consists of the large number of law-abiding, law-Georgia will understand the real issue involved.

Our population consists of the large numbre of law-abiding, law-respecting white people, the large number of peaceable, law-abiding Negroes, the criminal element of the white people, and the impudent and vicious Negroes. These two latter classes constitute an acute problem. If it were not for the lawless whites, the better citizens among the Negroes would not be so prone to protect their own criminals. This protection, as unfortunate as it is, raises frequently from the reasonable fear that the orderly process of the law will not be carried out. The most complicated part of our problem is the low-down, sorry white man. He is lower down than the bad Negro insomuch as his opportunities have been better. Another complication is in the fact that a certain type of public men in Georgia are willing to make capital of the passion and prejudice of people.

A new periodical called "The Searchlight" is calculated to appeal very strongly to the ignorant and unthinking and thus retard the progress of our state towad a better condition of things.

So we are squarely up against a situatiin in Georgia clear-cut and definite: shall the hoodlum portion of our population dominate? We want no canting watchword of white supremacy if the whites do not know how to use their supremacy. The shame is that these sporadic and exceptional cases of mob violence and injustice should be perpetrated on the Negroes, when they are here among us, as a weaker race, and not here of their own choice, and when all the machiney of the courts is in the hands of the whites. It is a hopeful indication that the leading papers of the state are willing to fairly face the facts as a first step toward making such facts no longer possible.

The Atlanta Constitution says:

"The governor and every observant citizen knows that unless lynching and disregard for the law as to peonage are done away with by the state, the federal government will inevitably intervene to that end!

"All must agree that it will be much better for the state to accomplish this task without aid or interference.

"That is what the governor is seeking to have done.

"The better sentiment of the state is abundantly able to deal with the situation.

"It is simply a question as to whether 5 per cent of the people of the state are going to be permitted to run roughshod over the whites and the welfare of the 95 per cent."

James B. Nevin, in The Atlanta Georgian, writes:

"We are not going to lower our average of one lynching per month for 35 years merely by protesting vehemently that there have been no lynchings—or that, if there have been lynchings, there have not been many lynchings; or that, if there have been many lynchings, they were "necessary" lynchings, or that if there have been lynchings, there also have been lynchings in other states.

"Sophistry will not get us anywhere worth while; pleas in avoidance are not worthy of us, however commendable confession might be."

There is an honest difference of opinion as regards the method of publicity used by Governor Dorsey. There can be no honest difference of opinion as to our obligation to remove the red shame of lynching and other forms of violence from the future record of our loved state.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Race Relations – 1921.

Editorials (Fla., Ill., Ky., Minn., Mass.)

Governor Dorsey's Pamphlet on the Negro, etc.

JACKSONV'LE FLA METROPOLI
MAY 18, 1921

GOVERNOR DORSEY'S BOOK AND GEORGIA'S ATTITUDE.

UP in Georgia Governor Hugh M. Dorsey's booklet, "The Negro In Georgia," has started a sensation as startling there as the peonage charges and convictions were startling in other sections of the country.

The fact that the negroes of Georgia have, in certain cases, been the victims of injustice the right-thinking people of Georgia do not deny, and there is little criticism of the Governor's specific charges, but the protests are centered on the claim that the proper method has not been adopted to rectify the wrongs.

This truth is undeniable: The people of Georgia must give the negroes in that State a square deal, if they are to receive one at all. Interference by outsiders, and especially by certain unfriendly factions, will add trouble to the already perturbed condition. In race relations the South must work out its own problems—and Georgia is no exception. The greatest obstacle to overcome is the agitation by foreign elements that are not familiar with conditions as they really are.

Governor Dorsey evidently thinks that the cure is generous publicity, and following out this thought he is holding the State of which he is chief executive before the whole nation for inspection. It is conservative to say that ninety-five per cent of the white people in Georgia were as ignorant on this particular subject as were the people of Massachusetts. They do not believe in race equality, but they do realize that the negro has a part to play in the economic life of the nation and are bitterly opposed to oppression, peonage and the other things charged by the governor of the State. This ninety-five per cent, however, is called upon to bear the blame along with the guilty five per cent. Were it not a race question this would not be true; but the press and citizens north of the Mason-Dixon line, with few exceptions, refuse to concentrate their condemnation, but extend it to apply to the State as a whole. Florida has been subjected to this same condemnation.

The Georgia press—that section which is convinced that Governor Dorsey has acted unwisely—is intimating that he is playing to the grandstands. The possibility of the creation of a new Federal judgeship in Georgia has been spoken of, but it would be unjust to connect Dorsey's political aspirations with this, because there is nothing to substantiate the intimation that he would rise at the expense of his native State, the State which has so signally honored him, and which he has undoubtedly served to the best of his ability. That he is sincere in his purpose must be accepted, but whether he has followed the best course is open to discussion. If the citizens of other States will assume the attitude that ninety-five per cent of the Georgians are innocent and are anxious to right wrongs inasmuch as it lies in their power, then this majority, moved by Governor Dorsey's publicity campaign, will ferret out the offenders and see that justice is done. But if the whole State is forced to defend itself against the charges to the rest of the nation, little will be accomplished in solving the racial problems as they now exist.

Chicago Defender 6/4/21,

GETTING UNDER COVER

EVEN FOOLS are credited with having enough sense to get under cover when it rains, so there seems to be no real reason why even the most superficial word-bouquets should be handed Hugh M. Dorsey whose official title is Governor of Georgia, for giving to the world his "treatise" on "The Negro in Georgia." He is afraid that the federal government will reign and he doesn't wish to be left out in the wet. To those unfamiliar with his record, his views concerning the status of the dark skinned citizens in the state over which he rules, his views seem to be big, broad and have a humanitarian twang that leaves the impression that the man would have righted the wrongs long ago if they had ever come to his attention.

THE WORLD knows that parcel of sun-kissed American land called Georgia holds more savages than any other portion of the globe. It knows that lynchings murders, rape, peonage and all other forms of lawlessness there reign supreme. It knows that in most cases a black man is convicted and punished long before he reaches judge or jury, and should he reach them, being black is counted ninety-nine points against him. It knows that unless the strong arm of the federal government intervenes those lawless conditions will continue. No wonder the governor is throwing a little sop in order to ward off impending investigations, he is trying to clear his own skirts.

IN 1918 the Colored Welfare League of Augusta, Ga., following a most brutal lynching of a woman in Brooks county, sent a strong protest to Gov. Dorsey concerning this and other cases of lawlessness and murder. The governor's reply was viciously inhuman in character evasive and carried with it little hope of a betterment of conditions. The import of it was if Negroes did not want such drastic measures taken they should not commit indiscretions. This from a governor who had sworn upon oath to administer the laws honestly and impartially.

AS SOLICITOR GENERAL Dorsey played a prominent part in the trial of Leo Frank and made capital of the fact that he secured a death sentence and rode into the governorship. Although Frank's sentence was commuted to life imprisonment by Governor Slaton, it will be remembered he was killed in prison showing conclusively that the Georgia mob spirit is as dominant in prison as it is outside of prison.

COMMENTING on that part of the President's speech that has to deal with our position in this country, a Southern paper says editorially, "It would seem to an ordinary observer of current conditions that America has quite enough emergent troubles with which to deal without additional mischief-making on the part of the federal government. Why should the South be placed under federal espionage? Did not the country get enough of such commissions and investigations during reconstruction?" We suppose the federal enforcement of the prohibition laws in Georgia is mischief making? Why shouldn't the state have the same power with this amendment it has with the 13th and 14th? What about the 19th? If they have the right to nullify or abridge one they surely have the right to do the same to all.

THE ATTENTION OF THE PRESIDENT this editor calls to a speech made while campaigning in Oklahoma, in which he said: "It was no purpose of his to instruct them about handling their own affairs, in the matter of race relations." What a dainty morsel how their ears prick up when the rights of the Colored citizens it is suggested be placed in their hands. President Harding also said, "Congress ought to wipe the state of barbaric lynching from the banner of a free and orderly representative democracy." He didn't say the law making body of Georgia should do this—for he is a sane man and does not expect the impossible—but he said Congress, which means the federal government. But Georgia objects. She still wants to live in the mire, still wants to remain a blot on the American escutcheon, still wants no interference.

BUT INTERFERENCE IS COMING and coming quickly. Governor Dorsey sees the handwriting on the wall and is running to cover. We have little faith in this eleventh hour repentance, especially when it is applied to politics. And while it may be barely possible that this executive has seen the light and wishes to make amends, it is more than probable that he is a bit concerned about his own nest egg. Optimism is a wonderful thing, it makes a crooked stick seem straight. We wish we had more of it. We would like to believe the governor meant 100 per cent of what he said, but our pessimistic nature will get the better of us and constantly are we reminded of the truism "By their fruits shall ye know them."

LEXINGTON KY. HERALD
JUNE 2 1921

EDITORIAL COMMENT

Governor Dorsey Advocates Necessary Laws

[The New Republic.]

Since 1885 there have been four hundred and seven lynchings of negroes in Georgia—more than in any other State. The recent Williams case, in which eleven negroes were killed, adds the existence of a widespread system of peonage to this fearful distinction. But Georgia's conscience is at work, in the person of her Governor, Hugh M. Dorsey. Governor Dorsey has published a booklet, called "The Negro in Georgia," which is a circumstantial recital of outrages upon negroes in the State within the last few years. All the cases cited were voluntarily sent to the Governor by Georgians. In only two of the 135 cited was a crime against a white woman involved. The others were of various kinds: Negroes lynched, negroes beaten, shot, whipped; negroes held in forced labor, prosperous negroes forced out of their country by violence or threats of violence. "In some cases," says the Governor, "the negro is being driven out as though he were a wild beast." The testimony before him came unsolicited, and, he believes, were an effort made to collect more of it, conditions would be found to be actually many times worse. "If the conditions indicated by these charges should continue," says the Governor, "both God and man would justly condemn Georgia more severely than God and man have condemned Belgium and Leopold for the Congo atrocities." One needs to remember that these words are from a Southern governor to realize how brave they are.

And Governor Dorsey knows exactly how he intends his words should lead to acts. He wants laws establishing a State Constabulary. He wants authority to appoint "at any time a commission to investigate lynchings . . ." and power to remove any official it may find to have failed to uphold the law. He demands that "a financial penalty be imposed upon any county in which a lynching may occur." He urges compulsory education for both races. There are other remedies, too: such as a campaign by the churches to place in every part of Georgia "a sufficient number of Sunday schools and churches where, in their separate places of worship . . . both races will learn . . . the Gospel of justice and mercy . . ." Publicity has been the Governor's chief aim, and he urges it to be continued; there should be a "careful investigation of facts as to the treatment of the negro"—to be made, he adds, "by Georgians and not by outsiders." He is quite right; since Georgia's conscience is aroused, let her clean her house herself and have from outsiders only the encouragement a fearless governor deserves.

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SPRINGFIELD M. REPUBLICAN
MAY 19, 1921

Reaction In Georgia

That Gov Dorsey's distinguished service to Georgia and the nation by his vigorous assault on peonage and other crimes against the Negro race is not appreciated in all circles at home is not surprising. Defiance of the law cannot have continued so long without influential supporters. It is depressing, however, to learn that Gov-elect Thomas W. Hardwick, who is to succeed Gov Dorsey in office next month, is among the detractors of the courageous executive. Mr Hardwick promises a detailed reply to the governor's pamphlet as soon as he takes office, meanwhile denouncing "as an infamous slander on the state these statements that have been sent over the country."

The "Guardians of Liberty" are militant. They demand the impeachment of the governor for having "defiled" "Georgia our mother" before the world. In this company also are Samuel L. Olive, president of the Georgia state Senate, and Judge E. R. Searcy of the Flint circuit superior court of Georgia. Mr Olive points his defense with an account of a particular case of a Negro burned at the state, declaring that Negroes themselves assisted in applying the torch. A sad commentary indeed on the degrading effect of the criminally lawless practices which citizens in high office are defending.

That the disclosures which Gov Dorsey has made are fair samples of the condition of neo-slavery which exists in Georgia and elsewhere in the South is well established. To deny it with however much rhetoric cannot help to clear the good name of the state which permits it to exist. The demagogic denial may win temporary political advantages in some quarters, but there is every reason to believe that the people of Georgia are becoming aroused to demand a thoroughgoing reform and that Gov Dorsey rather than the governor-elect represents the sentiment that is bound to prevail. But it means an even harder fight than had been supposed.

MINNEAPOLIS MINN. JOURNAL
MAY 11, 1921

A Southern Governor Speaks Out.

In the wake of the prosecution of peonage in Jasper County, Georgia, Hugh M. Dorsey, Governor of that State, has launched a notable indictment against the white citizens of his State and of the South.

Governor Dorsey recently submitted to the Inter-Racial Committee sitting in Atlanta one hundred and thirty instances of "Negroes lynched, Negroes held in peonage, Negroes driven out by organized lawlessness, and Negroes subjected to individual acts of cruelty" in Georgia in the past two years. Governor Dorsey points out that in only two of these cases is the "usual crime against women involved."

It is evident that peonage in any form must go. It is only a modified form of slavery, and a blot on the American escutcheon. The remedy for mob violence and other forms of injustice, in the opinion of many authorities, lies in the united action of such white leaders as Governor Dorsey in co-operating with the more intelligent Negroes.

To finish the readjustment begun by the Civil War is necessarily a gradual process, requiring patience and self-control on the part of both whites and blacks. It will be greatly facilitated, if the authorities are quick to punish mob violence.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 74

Race Relations - 1921.

Editorials (Ga.)

Governor Dorsey's Pamphlet on the Negro in Georgia (Comments on)

BLOOD AND BURNING IN GA.

Savannah Tribune 5/12/21

Now that fifty prominent Georgians have shouldered their due part of the responsibility for the issuance of the Dorsey phamphlet, styled "The Negro in Georgia", and, moreover, agree to back up the charges enumerated in the famous pamphlet with a strong array of incontrovertable facts, and with the testimony of sheriffs, solicitors general and prominent officials and business men from all over the state, we do not hear much about "impeaching" the Governor and "legislative investigation".

The good, strong men allied with the Governor went at their task with a great deal more of caution and deliberation than their critics knew; they had fortified themselves to sustain, by overwhelming evidence, this very attack which they must have anticipated. Not 135 cases, merely, but they are in position, doubtless, as most of us know, to present a thousand cases of most horrible and aggravating persecution and oppression of Negroes from all over the state, and from every county of the state.

In the most favorable sections of the state, there is some persecution and oppression, some denial of common right, some deprivation of liberty and property, technically under color of law and right, but in the true sense of justice, unjust, unfair and inequitable. In many counties, conditions are bad enough to save themselves and their families.

Of course, every white man is not doing this; and there are many just and honorable and fair men in Georgia; but at the same time, it may be admitted that the very fact that peonage and lynching are so widespread, and that the tens of thousands of men and boys who have made up Georgia mobs, night riders and Ku Klux Klans have gone uncaught and unpunished, naturally and logically raises the presumption that the public opinion in Georgia winks at these things, and that tens of thousands of Georgians are active participants in mob-violence and other tens of thousands are willing that the practice shall go on: thousands still, lack the courage of the Governor's Committee of Fifty to speak out openly against the crime.

From the standpoint of the thinking Negro, the explanation of the present predicament in Georgia in this matter is that the law-abiding people have stood by, indifferently and fearfully, and allowed the lawless element over the state to take the reins of decency and law away from them; and that conditions have reached the extreme in their opinion, and civilization itself is in jeopardy; and that to save the state, drastic or "heoric" (as the Committee of Fifty says) treatment is necessary. The law-abiding have reckoned right. Racial conditions are in a very bad way; and these conditions have been brought about by hate, cultivated by the narrow, ignorant whites to the extent that it has engendered its counterpart of corresponding hate on the part of Negroes of the same type and condition.

Economic, and other disadvantages due to natural causes, make the Negro the victim of the hate of ignorance and race prejudice more so than other groups; while the consciousness of advantage inspires and stirs the meaner qualities and instincts in hating individuals and groups to their worst performances and manifestations. This is the condition here in Georgia.

Fact is, unless the rank and file of citizens of the state of Georgia, are willing to stand "hitched" and go carefully over the perils which the Comittee of Fifty with the Governor now places before the level-headed men of this state today, fearlessly and courageously, the dread consequences outlined and anticipated by them will inevitably result.

The Governor's Committee of Fifty as they themselves said, love their state, cannot be charged with any other than the best interest of the tate and its people, and must be given credit for the positions they take on this question. They are wise men and good.

God only knows what crime and oppression have been perpetrated upon Negro people, in Georgia and throughout the South, in the past. No one can know, nor would there be any way of discovering the full history of these wrongs. Thousands, and the great majority of the wrongs complained of, so unpunished and unknown.

The all-important thing now is, the devising of some plan for putting a stop to the revelry of peonage and persecution, and the too frequent orgies of barbarous lynchings and burnings.

Blood still flows from many an open wound in coun tlessscielv-;EETAON wound in countless sections of the Southland; Georgia soil is redder than any other. The flames from scores of burning pyres yet rise from the writhing human tortured, amid the wild cries of hapless victims and the stench of roasting, broiling black men and women. And we still lay claim to Christianity and brotherhood.

UPHOLDING DORSEY.

Continuation sheet

In dealing with the controversy that has arisen over the recent public statements made by Governor Dorsey regarding inter-racial conditions in this state, Georgia cannot accomplish anything by doing the ostrich act.

It has got to face the facts!

First and foremost is the fact that Georgia **leads all other states** in the matter of lynching.

Regardless of what the remedy might be, or of how folks like or dislike it, **that is the record!**

Another fact Georgia must face is that recently the most revolting instance of peonage ever known was brought to light in this state and that other disclosures that followed emphasized the seriousness of the situation.

Those are the facts; and, try as we might, we cannot escape them.

It is preposterous to think that the state can bury its head in the sand, ostrich fashion, and hide from the world some of the things that we wish the world did not know.

It is criticism from the outside that has caused the present controversy.

Governor Dorsey did the courageous and the manly thing in calling public attention to conditions, and it is worthy of note that his position is being commended even by some of his most active political adversaries.

They know that he had only one possible motive in doing what he has done, and that was the good of the state.

The governor is out of politics. He declares that he is a candidate for no office, and that under no circumstances would he ask for any public office, his intention being to settle down to the practice of law at the close of his term as governor.

But he is being criticised by others who **are** in politics and who **are seeking** political office!

Those who have sponsored such efforts are now hearing the response of the better sentiment of the state—from those citizens who are not on a hunt to make demagogic political capital out of every passing breeze, and to see just how far they may be able to turn it to their own use!

From one end of the state to the other Georgia is beginning to realize the meaning of the criticism that is being heaped upon the state by the outside world, as it is reflected by the press of the entire nation.

This criticism is coming, not by reason of anything Governor Dorsey has had to say, but by reason of the condition that provoked the governor's statement!

In some of the instances cited by him the governor may have been indiscreet.

The manner of his presentation of the situation might have been improved upon.

But that is beside the point.

The main thing is as to whether or not there is ground for the governor's statement that the state should put a stop to the unenviable notoriety it has obtained as being **the leader of the lynching states of the union.**

Is the governor right or wrong on that proposition?

Now that we have had expressions from the political end of the controversy, it is time to hear from those who would not sacrifice law and order to gain a political end, and it is distinctly creditable that some of those who have been among the most conspicuous political antagonists of the governor are big enough and patriotic enough to give him their support in his courageous appeal for the enforcement of law, and the protection of the good name of the state!

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Race Relations — 1921.

Editorials (Ala. & Conn.)

Governor Dorsey's Pamphlet on the Negro in Georgia (Comments on

GOVERNOR DORSEY AND THE GEORGIA RADICALS

Birmingham Reporter 5/21/21.

According to press dispatches indignation is rampant throughout Georgia against Governor Hugh M. Dorsey because he exposed in pamphlet the injustice done the Negro in that state. The pamphlet exposed 135 cases of unlawful punishments heaped upon the Negro people of that state and they go from minor offenses to the crime of lynching. This exposure on the part of the Governor has given rise to investigations and these investigations indicate other crimes of a nature equally as serious. Some men high up have threatened impeachment proceedings, notwithstanding the Governor's term of office will end sometime next month.

Governor Dorsey evidently is a man of conviction and thoroughly considerate of the life, happiness and protection of humanity. He has certainly set the nation thinking, and removed a stigma, a stain, a mark that has followed the South for a number of years, and that is the charge that white men will not expose the crime of their race members when practiced upon an opposite race, and particularly the Negro race.

Governor Dorsey will not be impeached, and we venture the assertion that the parties seeking his humiliation have brought the state of Georgia in greater contempt and has put it under the study of a more serious suspicion than all the exposures that might have been made by its Governor. Governor Dorsey, as all big and honorable citizens must do, sought the truth, and having found it he believed it his duty as a public officer to explain to the public what his investigation disclosed. Georgia was complimented for this and had a consideration that was not hers before. Governor Dorsey started out in the right direction to clear up the records and give Georgia a clean slate, and but for the Negro being involved, and the sufferer in all the trouble, the Governor would have been complimented and the whole nation singing his praises, and the leading forces in Georgia would have called him blessed. But perhaps there is another reason as to why these individuals wish to intimidate the Governor and make his investigation a joke, discard him, and pass him out of office disgraced. It might be for this reason: That the incoming Governor will attempt to undo what Governor Dorsey has done and wink his eye at the exposures made, and in time issue a pardon for the slave murderer, John S. Williams and his two sons.

This situation as it regards the Governor is not to be passed lightly nor without due consideration. It has a far-reaching meaning and might result in a far-reaching effect, if it is carelessly passed over.

While there is no indication of impeachment, there is in the plan an effort to discredit the Governor and his relation to matters affecting the interest of the Negro people. The friends of humanity in both races must, for the safety and preservation of law and order in Georgia and the establishment of a semblance of justice for the blacks of that state, rally around the Governor with all the legal force available and such substantial evidence as will back him up in the investigations and exposures made. The attempt on the part of these men cannot be thought of as an effort to protect the good name of Georgia, but one to cover up the sins of Georgia and give license to the nefarious practices commonly known as peonage and slave farms.

Let us hope that the investigations will continue and the strong hand of the law with its mighty and convincing force will make men pay for crimes against humanity and society.

BIRMINGHAM ALA AGE HERALD
JUNE 20 1921

Hoke Smith Objects to Criticism of Georgia

IN an address before the Georgia society in Washington, former Senator Hoke Smith protested against "the wholesale tirade against 'peonage'" in that state, "which has recently found its way into the press of the country." Mr. Smith declared that such criticism was "unwarranted and unjustifiable."

It would be manifestly unfair to charge that the entire citizenship of Georgia is composed of negro baiters and lynchers, but the disclosures made in recent investigations and the testimony of the notorious Williams trial indicate that attacks on the persons responsible for such conditions are both warranted and justifiable. They reflect on Georgia and to some extent on the whole south. The indignation created in Georgia by stories of cruelty to negroes, as well as the courageous statements of Governor Dorsey, who was bitterly assailed for his plain speaking, show that the best people in Georgia do not countenance such practices. The condemnation of Georgia has never been general, except perhaps in some irresponsible publications in the north and east, which seize upon any opportunity to abuse the south.

Mr. Smith says a few "technical cases of peonage have been found, but hurts his case considerably by admitting that farmers have been in the habit of paying the fines of negroes and working them until the amount of the fines was repaid. That is simply a case of tweedledum and tweedledee. To all intents and purposes, it is peonage. Negro convicts worked in that way were at the mercy of their employer who could and did mistreat them in many instances. Some kind of control was necessary to keep them at work and prevent them from running away. Stockades, chains and whippings were the inevitable result of such a practice, and a farmer whose greed was greater than his humanity would be apt to overwork and underfeed his convicts. The discredited convict lease system was bad enough, but the corporations to which convicts were leased were at any rate held responsible for their welfare and humane treatment, although this system, in spite of attempts to regulate it, led to many abuses.

Mr. Smith deserves credit for helping to abolish the convict lease system in Georgia, which has also been repudiated in Alabama, but Georgia should go a step further and pass legislation to prevent the payment of fines for negro criminals by employers who hold them in virtual slavery.

NEW HAVEN CONN UNION
MAY 2, 1921

A SQUARE DEAL

The South shows commendable signs of waking up. In Georgia Governor Dorsey severely arraigns a certain class of whites who still hold to the obsolete theory that a negro has no rights that a white man is bound to respect, and in Arkansas twenty-three night riders who undertook to regulate the price of cotton with the torch and shotguns have been sentenced to prison.

It would be going to far to say that Georgia stil recognizes in full the equality before the law of all men regardless of color, and isn't true, perhaps, that the territorists of Arkansas have been converted to a sane conception the law of supply and demand. But a beginning has been made.

The white people of Georgia, especially, have received a severe lesson. Most of them are honest and law abiding. All of them oppose social equality and a comparatively few have been unable to understand the difference between social equality and equal rights. This minority has been indulged and as a sequel one of the most revolting crimes in the history of the South has been exposed.

It will be a long time before the people of Jasper County will have outlived the odium that has been placed upon them by one of their own number, who not only was guilty of peonage, but who assumed that he had the power of life and death over his victims. In the end, however, the Jasper County tragedies may prove a blessing; they may lead to a determination on the part of the better class of whites that the black must have a square deal even when working out offenses on convict farms.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Race Relations – 1921.

Governor Dorsey's Final Message.

NEW YORK CITY TIMES
JUNE 25, 1921

DORSEY CITES 58 GEORGIA LYNCHINGS

Retiring Governor Repeats Condemnation of Mob Violence in Last Message to Legislature.

URGES STATE CONSTABULARY

Advocates Also State Grand and Traverse Juries to Deal With Lynching Cases.

UNTRUE, HARDWICK REPLIES

Incoming Governor, in Inaugural Address, Declares Charges a "Slander on the People."

Special to The New York Times.

ATLANTA, Ga., June 24.—Denouncing lynchings and other crimes of violence against negroes, and declaring that there have been fifty-eight cases of lynchings in Georgia since he became Governor, Hugh M. Dorsey, in retiring from office today, yielding the reigns of power to Governor Thomas W. Hardwick, recommended to the Legislature certain radical changes to prevent the recurrence of this sort of disorder.

In his inaugural address Governor Hardwick defended the State, which he declares has been attacked unjustly and without reason, and promised that he will "vindicate the majesty and impartiality of the law" and will not "write any phamphlets."

In his statement on lynching the retiring Governor said:

"Georgia sometimes stands at the head, and always high on the list among States of the Union in this practice. While we have had fifty-eight victims of mob violence who were not accorded a trial under the law, or lynched after such trial, we have hundreds who participated in these murders who have never been brought to justice, and in many cases no effort whatsoever made to apprehend or punish them.

"There are many instances of outrageous lynchings that could be prevented, certainly there are instances where the perpetrators of such crimes could be, if the matter were properly investigated, brought to justice.

"When information of impending mob violence is brought to the attention of the Executive, he should not be handicapped by having to await a call for military assistance from local authorities, but should be authorized, and, indeed, it should be his duty to see that officers get in immediate touch with the situation and take whatever precautionary measures are advisable.

Wants State Constabulary.

"The financial condition of the State will not now permit, but as soon as that can be changed and adequate funds provided a State constabulary should be established. Such a constabulary should be subject to the orders of the chief executive not only in cases of emergency, but for the enforcement of all the State's criminal laws. Much could be done by a Governor through this agency to check all forms of crime, and especially could the violation of the prohibition laws be greatly curbed. Such a force could also compel the payment of automobile license fees and thus increase the State's revenues. Many sheriffs are wholly derelict in their duties in this respect.

"The law establishing such a police force should, of course, guard against its becoming a political machine in the hands of the executive, but this can be easily accomplished. Many of the other States have already established such constabularies, and where so established they have been found efficient and wonderfully helped.

"After a mob crime some official should be charged with the definite and specific duty of ascertaining as to whether or not the peace officers of the community in which the crime was committed have fully performed their duties. Such peace officers should be accorded a full and fair hearing, but in the event it should be ascertained that they were derelict in the discharge of all duties which the situation imposed upon them they should be subject to immediate removal.

"A method should be provided whereby a State Grand Jury—that is, one composed of citizens selected from all sections of the State under proper rules, regulations and safeguards and aided and assisted by a special prosecuting attorney—might make a full and complete investigation into the crime and have authority to return presentments against those participating in the mob violence. Those thus indicted should be tried at such a place as would be most conducive to the ascertaining of the truth, and before a traverse jury likewise drawn from the entire State. While this is drastic, still I submit that the nature of the offense against the sovereignty, peace, order and rignity of the State is such as to warrant those measures.

"I have concluded that there is little reason to expect county Grand Juries and local officers to adequately deal with the mob murders of their communities. They are too numerous.

Calls Change "Outrageous."

Governor Hardwick in his message said:

"The Georgia farmer bravely and manfully has gone energetically about his business and is now cultivating a crop to help clothe the world—a crop that may cost him twice as much as it brings on the market. He has taken care of the negro, fed him, clothed him, sheltered him, doctored him, and now, in a year like this, when he has made every imaginable sacrifice to help the negro, to be charged on high authority with holding the negro in peonage is almost more than he can bear. Such a burden, at this particular time, above all others, should not have been imposed upon him; it is an outrageous, unjustified and unjustifiable proceeding.

There is no real basis in truth and in fact upon which the accusation can rest. I assert, measuring and weighing my words, that there is no State in this Union, and no country in this world, having within its limits anything like an even division of its population between the white and black races in which the relations between the two races are more harmonious than right here in the State of Georgia. There is no State or country in the world which a good, law-abiding, peaceful negro can live with more security to life, his property or his rights than the State of Georgia.

"Georgia, of course, is not free from crime. Throughout the world there is that seething unrest that always follows in the wake of a great war, but I believe and venture to assert that the increase in criminality that is general throughout the world is less in this State than it is in practically all of the others. We, of course, have our criminals both white and black, but the percentage of crime directed by members of the white race against negroes is exceedingly small.

"The indictment brought against the State is untrue, and it is a matter of deep regret to me that such a monstrous charge should have been circulated just at this juncture, so calculated to impair the friendly relations between the races in our State and so calculated to prejudice the god name of the State of Georgia in other sections of the country.

"Georgia has substantially 300,000 people, the usual and unescapable percentage of crime is unfortunately present among them, but the indictment of the whole State and all of its people for mistreating the black race is an unspeakable slander upon our State and her people, and to the indictment, so preferred, in the name and behalf of the State of Georgia, I plead 'not guilty.'

Gives List of Lynchings.

In his final message to the Legislature, Governor Dorsey gave the following list of lynchings, which had occurred in Georgia during his administration:

Year 1917.

Sept. 18—Rufus Moncrief, Clarke County; rape.

Nov. 9—Jesse Slater, Brooks County; writing insulting letter to young woman.

Nov. 17—Cullins Johnson nad D. C. Johnson, Mitchell County; disputing white men's word.

Dec. 15—Claxton Dekle, Chandler County; in altercation killed one man and seriously wounded two others.

Year 1918.

Feb. 18—"Bud" Crosby, Fayette County; assault to rape and stealing baby.

March 22—Spencer Evans, Talirferro County; rape.

May 18—William Had, William Thompson, Hayes Turner and Eugene Rice, Brooks County; complicity in a murder and alleged assault.

May 19—Mary Turner, Brooks County; making remarks about lynching of her husband.

May 19—Chime Riley, Simon Schuman and three unidentified negroes, Brooks County; complicity in a murder.

May 23—James Cobb, Crisp County; rape and murder.

May 23—Sidney Johnson, Lowndes; complicity in a murder and alleged assault.

May 24—John Calhoun, Pike County; killing a planter in a dispute over a farm contract.

Aug. 11—Isaac Raney, Miller County; rape.

Sept. 3—John Gillham, Jones County; rape.

Sept. 24—Sandy Reaves, Pierce County; rape.

Year 1919.

April 13—William Williams, Jenkins County; alleged participation in clash between negroes and officers of the law.

May 2—Denny Brown, Warren County; killing wife and wounding four men of posse.

May 16—James Walters, Laurens County; attempted rape.

May 25—Berry Washington, Telfair County; killing man.

Aug. 1—Charles Kelly, Fayette County; charge not given.

Aug. 5—Unidentified negro, Bleckley County; making remarks about Chicago race riot.

Aug. 14—James Grant, Wilcox County; alleged shooting of two men.

Aug. 27—Eli Cooper, alleged incendiary talk.

Sept. 6—O. E. Cox, Oglethorpe County; murder and rape.

Sept. 22—Ernest Glenwood, Dooly County; circulating incendiary propaganda.

Oct. 5—Moses Martin, Wilkes County; making boastful remarks about another negro shooting office of law.

Oct. 5—Moses Freeman, Wilkes County; misleading members of mob searching for Jack Gordon.

Oct. 6—Jack Gordon, William Brown, Wilkes County; shooting officers of law.

Oct. 7—Eugene Hamilton, Jasper County; sentenced for ten years for attempt on life of farmer; appeal taken.

Oct. 16—Two unnamed men, Marion County; charge not reported.

Nov. 3—Paul Jones, Bibb County; rape.

Nov. 19—Wallace Baynes, Morgan County; killing man assisting in attempt to arrest him.

Nov. 30—Wesley Everetts, Wilkinson County; shooting and wounding a man.

Dec. 21—Charles West, Lee County; killing plantation owner.

Year 1920:

March 4—Cornelius Alexander, Pike County; jumping labor contract.

June 21—Phillip Gaithers, Effingham; rape and murder.

Sept. 25—Felix Cremer, Green County; aiding fugitive to escape who had wounded his landlord.

Sept. 25—Felix Cremer, Green County; shooting landlord in a dispute.

Nov. 18—William Perry, William Ivory, wife of William Perry, Coffee County; implicated in death of planter.

Nov. 23—Curley McKelvey, Worth County; complicity in the killing of planter.

Nov. 30—Unnamed man, Thomas County; rape.

Year 1921.

Jan. 2—James Roland, Mitchell County; shooting and fatally wounding white planter.

Jan. 6—Samuel Williams, Talbot County; charge not reported.

Feb. 16—John Lee Eberhardt, Clarke County; murder.

March 4—William Anderson, Baker; relative reported to have shot officer; no specific charge against Anderson except was on road with gun and was relative of man who did the shooting.

June 18.—John Henry William, Colquitt County; murder and rape.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

Wilmington Advocate 7/2/21

GEORGIA'S SHAME

The Honorable Hugh M. Dorsey, retiring from the office of Governor of Georgia, may never again be elected to any position of eminence by the suffrages of his fellow-Georgians, but he need not worry. He has at least won the respect and admiration of a larger and more important group of Americans

In his final message to the people of his State, the outgoing execu e told them some plain truths that needed to be said, and made recommendations for the future that should be heeded. He denounced lynching as a blot on the State's 'scutcheon, citing the 58 cases that had occurred during his term, just closed, and pointing to the hundreds who participated in these murders who have never been brought to justice, and in many cases no effort whatsoever made to apprehend or punish them." This sort of straight talk is not calculated to make a man popular in Georgia.

Appreciating this fact, and being himself most desirous of beginning his administration under the pleasantest auspices, the incoming Governor, Thomas W. Hardwick, devotes his inaugural message to a spread-eagle glorification of "the brave and manful Georgia farmer" and his tender care of the Negro. The peonage charges are outrageous slander, says Governor Hardwick, and "there is no State in this Union, and no country in this world, having wi[illegible] thing like an even division of its population between the v which the relations between the two races are more in the State of Georgia."

As between the capable Executive who politician seeking popular support, it is not more entitled to credence. Back of Mr. Dors lie. His remark that "Georgia sometimes st on the list among States of the Union" guilty o borne out by statistics. In the past 36 years G its nearest competitor, Mississippi, by 26; and eac all other States by more than a hundred. It is a n indurated callousness of Georgia that it now prefers than to Dorsey.

Mr. Dorsey insists that "many instances of outr prevented," and that "the perpetrators of such crime tice." And with both these ends in view he makes mendation. He says:

"The financial condition of the State will not no that can be changed and adequate funds provided a Sta established. Such a constabulary should be subject t Executive not only in cases of emergency, but for th State's criminal laws."

Beyond doubt Georgia, like many of the rest of us, n and an efficient accelerator would be a properly conducted State Const Philadelphia Record.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

SOUTHERNERS SOLVING THE NEGRO PROBLEM

WHILE RUMOR RUNS THE GANTLET with stories imputing antinegro designs to the Kuklux Klan and the night-riders, a momentous movement looking to the abolition of the lynch law and to the general settlement of the interracial problem has been initiated in the South by both white and colored leaders. Under the auspices of the Y. M. C. A., and with money appropriated by that body for the purpose, an organization known as the Christian Leaders' Conference on Interracial Cooperation has been effected in every State below the Mason and Dixon line, and there are now thirty-three white men and twenty-six negroes giving their full time to the work. So marked has been the success already, writes Dr. Edwin Mims, of Vanderbilt University, in *The Continent* (Presbyterian), that "Southern demagogs who have fattened on passion and prejudice would be taken aback if they knew to what an extent the silent, quiet forces of Southern life have been working. Radical leaders of the negro race, who likewise have grown fat on prejudice and passion, have no conception of the larger number of negroes who have taken fresh hope as they have seen evidences of a growing desire on the part of Southern white men to take them into council in all matters that relate to the common welfare." During the past two months State conferences have been held in Atlanta, Nashville, Montgomery, Jackson, Columbia, Richmond, Little Rock, and Alexandria (Louisiana), and a "new spirit of cooperation and confidence" has been evolved. Sometimes, as in Arkansas, the conference grew out of an immediate and serious crisis, but in most cases the conference was held "with a view to anticipating any trouble that might arise and to laying the basis of a democratic policy of cooperation and councils." Subsidiary to the State conferences are 459 county committees, which "have the goal of improving the relationship between the races and of doing certain tasks that mean promotion of the economic, social, and moral welfare of the communities." Reports from these State and county committees which have reached the central office in Atlanta "constitute a body of constructive work that is the most heartening and most encouraging evidence of progress in an extremely difficult situation that may be found in any period of so much disillusionment and reaction." Eight negroes are associated with the leaders of the central committee, of whom it is remarked:

"Every one is a Southerner who realized that tact, patience, and courage would be needed. The committee was fortunate in having as chairman John J. Eagan, a leading business man of Atlanta. The program on which they decided called first for justice in the courts, and especially opposition to lynching under any circumstances; secondly, economic justice; thirdly, adequate educational facilities; fourthly, improved living and sanitary conditions; fifthly, recreational advantages; sixthly, better traveling facilities; seventhly, welcoming the returning colored soldiers. It was fully realized this program would not suit conservative and prejudiced Southerners, but these leaders felt that it was thoroughly in line with the best Southern tradition, and that they had back of them in their insistence on these fundamental demands the spirit of the great Southerners of the past and present. They realized this program would not satisfy the extreme negro, who is bitter, impatient, and inclined to indulge in grievances and complaints because the race has not within fifty years achieved all the rights and privileges of the most advanced races. It does not refer to two points which would be insisted upon by even conservative negro leaders—abolition of the 'Jim Crow law' and the right of suffrage. It was felt, however, that much might be lost if too advanced a position were taken and that even this limited program night be the working basis of all who are patiently working toward a gradual and substantial improvement in the relationship between the races and in the consequent economic, social, and moral condition of the negro.

"More important than any item in this program, however, is the fundamental idea of the whole movement—that this delicate problem can be met only by conferences between those who are involved, conferences that shall not be called after an emergency has arisen, but that shall be held constantly and periodically. Everything depends on the two races coming together into a sympathetic relationship."

Advantage is being taken of every opportunity to educate public sentiment by addresses before great religious meetings of all denominations, by conferring with newspaper editors as to the best means of promoting the ideals of the movement, and by enlisting all welfare agencies in support of the program. "In a word," we read in *The Continent*, "they have appealed to business men, professional men, colleges, and universities to do their part in a work of tremendous social significance." In Memphis, Nashville, and New Orleans, the initiative was taken by the Chamber of Commerce; in other cities the initiative was taken by ministers of all denominations. In Atlanta a monthly meeting is now held of the representatives of white and colored churches. As a result a new high school for negroes has been erected, an additional park and recreation-ground established, and salaries of negro teachers have been increased in proportion to those of white teachers. "They have been true to the statement drawn up as an address to the people of Atlanta that 'by conferences conducted by leaders of both races, coming together in the spirit of Jesus Christ, there will be an atmosphere of mutual confidence and wisdom, out of which shall come plans and enterprises for the righting of wrongs and the creation of fair and just opportunities for even the least of our brethren.'" It is realized, however, that—

"The test of this whole movement must be found, of course, in actual results achieved. A most frequent complaint of negroes is that often white people talk and pass resolutions, but that no difference results in their own condition. There has been in the past far too much truth in this contention. But a new day of constructive effort has arrived. With a wealth of material before me as I write, there is not space even to suggest the many concrete instances of positive prevention of violence and friction and of real substantial progress for which this new movement is to be credited."

The Christian Century (Disciples) notes that the conference is distinctly Southern, and says that it "reflects the attitude of the forward-looking Christian men and women of that section of our country where the problem is most acute. While the paganism which still obtains among us is reflected in lynchings and pogroms like those of East St. Louis and Chicago, the principles formulated by this conference reflect both our deeper Americanism and our Christian faith." Its members "rejoice in the work of the churches in providing higher schools and schools of an industrial character, and they hold to the conviction that ignorance breeds disorder, vice, and crime, and that an effectual remedy is the enlightened Christian intelligence and conscience."

The Rev. E. C. Durham, writing in *The Methodist Quarterly Review* (Nashville), acknowledges the white man's obligation to the negro, and argues that "the white Southerner must certainly be a sympathetic, studious, well-poised friend to the negro if the present perplexing racial problem shall be solved."

It is, we are reminded, "one of the biggest problems confronting this sociological, democratic, and philanthropic age, and it is incumbent upon all of us to get on the job as men and women, with all the calm, poise, sympathy, good will, common sense, friendship, and Christianity that are within our possible reach."

General

Racial Relation 1921
"Southerners Solving the Race Problem."

Literary Digest—
1/29/21

The women's boards of the Southern Presbyterian, the Southern Baptist and the Southern Methodist churches have endorsed the program of the woman members of the Inter-Racial Commission, and have set in motion the machinery to carry it out in local communities throughout the South, through their local church societies.

The plans call for three committees in each auxiliary to study the Negro homes, schools and churches of the community with the aid of the colored women who are locally leaders among their people. From these studies a concerted plan of action is to be prepared, differing according to local needs, upon which the women of both races can unite, in co-operation with the county inter-racial committee.

In the opinion of many Southern students of public questions no more important or hopeful action than this has ever been taken in the wide and tangled field of race relations.

The Woman's Auxiliary of the Southern Presbyterian Church held this summer three conferences for colored women. To the usual September meeting at Tuscaloosa, Ala., were added conferences at Cambria, Va., and Atlanta, Ga. Courses in Bible study were given, talks on community betterment, sanitation, care of children and the sick, instruction in home industries, and in playground work. These courses were given by both white and colored leaders, men and women.

Many of those attending were sent by local white Presbyterian auxiliaries, which select some colored woman who is a leader among her people in their community. They keep in touch with their delegate after her return, cooperating with her in the colored community. Through these auxiliaries as well as through the colored workers themselves the Woman's Board receives follow-up reports from communities in every state in the South. These reports show much church and welfare work among colored people, and much cooperation between the women of the two races, which owes its beginning to these yearly conferences.

(Southern Publicity Committee.)

Southern Publicity Committee Disbands

With this release the work of the Southern Publicity Committee ends. It was organized four years ago to acquaint the Southern public with what the white South is doing, in many places and along various lines, to promote inter-racial justice and good-will, and to cooperate with the better class of Negroes to help the less fortunate members of their race. The facts gathered and published during these years make an impressive list. They have been sent to hundreds of daily, weekly and religious papers, to hundreds of college presidents and Young Men's and Women's Christian Associations in colleges and cities, to hundreds more of leaders in church, social and civic work, both men and women. They have gone to both races through these and other channels; and doubtless some of the growing public opinion which desires for the Negro a fuller justice and a better opportunity has been strengthened by the publicity given to these constructive facts.

The Committee's work, it was always hoped, would eventually become unnecessary. That happy day cannot yet be said to have arrived; but there has come into existence another agency, the largest and best which has ever appeared in the field of racial adjustments. Several members of the Publicity Committee are among its charter members and believe its growth one of the most important and heartening facts in Southern life today.

This is an age of consolidation; and those who have heretofore provided the funds for the work of the Publicity Committee have decided that better results can now be obtained if these funds are added to the publicity department of the Inter-Racial Commission, which, through the organization's vigorous growth, is in constant need of enlargement. The publication of the releases therefore ceases with this issue.

Southern Women and the Negro

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